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GREEK MAENADISM FROM OLYMPIAS TO MESSALINA

ALBERT HENRICHs

IN 1872 A. Rapp proposed to distinguish between the maenads of myth and those of history.¹ According to Rapp, the mythical maenads existed only in the imagination of artists and poets and should therefore be dismissed as artificial creations. Rapp found the maenads of history and cult in the pages of Diodorus, Plutarch, and Pausanias. There we find them indeed, not in large numbers, but assigned to clear chronological and geographical contexts. Equally historical and real are the few maenads from Magnesia, Miletus, and Physkos whose ritual activities were commemorated on stone. Between 1890 and 1968, five Greek inscriptions of major importance were published which illustrate the practice of maenadism in Greece, Asia Minor, and Italy from the third century B.C. to the second century A.D.² Their discovery invalidated Rapp's rigid classification and showed that the epigraphical documentation of maenadism has as much in common with the *Bacchae* of Euripides as with the three prose authors preferred by Rapp. Several

¹ "Die Mänade im griechischen Cultus, in der Kunst und Poesie," *Rhein. Mus.* 27 (1872) 1-22, 562-611. Rapp aimed at a "Scheidung in historisches und mythologisches Mänadentum" (562) but conceded that the Greeks themselves were not fully aware of the difference (20).

² The five Greek inscriptions are, in their order of publication: (1) Magnesia ad Maeandrum, c. 200 B.C.; A. E. Kontoleon, *Ath. Mitt.* 15 (1890) 330-332 = *IMagn.* 215 (section I below). (2) Miletus, late third, or second, century B.C.; Th. Wiegand, *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.* 1905, 547 (see section III below). (3) Miletus, 276/75 B.C.; Th. Wiegand, *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1908, 22-25 = F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1955) no. 48 (section III below). (4) Torre Nova near Tusculum/Latium, second century A.D.; A. Vogliano and F. Cumont, *AJA* 37 (1933) 215-263 (section V below). (5) Physkos/Western Lokris, second century A.D.; G. Klaffenbach, *IG* 1².3.670 (1968) = F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris 1969) no. 181. The format of these texts varies considerably: (1) is a Delphic oracle quoted in a local chronicle, and (2) an epitaph in elegiac meter; (3) records the sale of the office of priestess of Dionysus; (4) is a membership list of a Dionysiac thiasus, and (5) a cult regulation. To complete the list of maenadic inscriptions, one must add *CIL* I (1863) 196 = I² 581, a local redaction of the so-called *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* or, in Mommsen's description, of the *Epistula consulum ad Teuranos* of 186 B.C., which was found in Tirioli in 1640 and first published by J. Gronovius in 1692 (below, pp. 134f).

additional passages in the *Bacchae* have thus been vindicated as descriptions of authentic maenadic ritual.³

But where the inscriptions fail us, the *Bacchae* remains an unreliable standard for maenadic cult, for the following reason. If maenadic cult is a reenactment of maenadic myth (as the Greeks doubtless held), the *Bacchae* is its dramatization and transposition into a fictitious cultic setting. If at the same time Euripides was inspired by actual Dionysiac cult (as most scholars assume, with reason), the historian of Greek religion who turns to the *Bacchae* as a model of maenadic ritual faces the dilemma of a vicious circle of multiple contamination. Not only do we lack objective criteria which would enable us to differentiate plausibly between poetic and cultic mimesis in the *Bacchae*, but the *Bacchae* itself, with its ritualistic interpretation of Dionysiac myth, must be considered a potential source of inspiration for later maenadic cult. We shall never disentangle the intricate web of maenadic myth and cult which the Greeks wove. But we want to know, as far as the evidence permits, who the real maenads were and what they did. In a strictly historical study of maenadic cult, therefore, the epigraphical records are the ultimate test of authenticity for maenadic ritual as practiced in any given period or place.

The maenads of Greek art and literature display startling symptoms of Dionysiac seizure: they toss back their heads and expose their throats in forceful convulsion; they roll their eyes; they shout like animals, their mouths open and foaming; they trample the ground and stampede through the woods as if engaged in a wild chase; and in the final climax of their fit, they turn into savage beasts, killing goats, fawns, and cattle and devouring their raw flesh.

Ever since Erwin Rohde's classic *Psyche* (1894; ²1898) prepared the way for the scholarly study of maenadism, the graphic portrayal of maenads by Greek vase painters and poets has attracted widespread attention. Various aspects of maenadic behavior have invited comparison with medieval examples of religious mass hysteria, with clinical cases of possession, and with various tribal rituals. The maenads' alleged escape from house and home and their temporary liberation from a woman's restricted role in Greek society have served as an occasional highlight in social studies. Cultural anthropology, comparative religion,

³ Cf. E. R. Dodds on *Bacch.* 85, 469-470, 695-698, and introd. pp xvi ff; J. Roux on *Bacch.* 32-33. Other details of maenadic ritual and behavior are known both from the *Bacchae* and from one or more of Rapp's nonpoetic sources: for example, dancing, *ὀρεῖβασία*, *θυρσοφορεῖν*, and even the physical exhaustion which made the maenads collapse (below, p. 136).

psychoanalysis and theories of sacrifice, sacrament and human aggression have all contributed to modern explanations of Greek maenadism. This comparative method of research has thrown valuable light on the ritual structure of maenadism and on its presumed purpose, be it cathartic, sacramental, or both. At the same time it has generated an unfortunate and misleading trend. The more uncivilized, bestial, and revolting the behavior of the maenads in the ancient sources, the more real and authentic they tend to appear to modern students steeped in the theories of J. J. Bachofen, Jane Harrison, Freud, Eliade, or Konrad Lorenz. In the prevailing conception, maenadism is seen as a periodic return to crude ritualistic primitivism by countless ancient women over many centuries of Greek and Roman civilization.

But the inscriptions as well as the prose writers tell a slightly different story which suggests that the cultic reality of maenadism was more subdued and less exotic. It is high time to take a fresh look at the prose accounts of maenadism and to contrast them with the more imaginative and colorful portrayals of maenads which we find in the *Bacchae* and in Greek and Roman art. This comparison of different ancient presentations of maenadism will put us in a better position to determine how wild the maenads really were.

I. THEBAN MAENADS IN MAGNESIA AD MAEANDRUM

In the *Bacchae*, the women of Thebes on whom Dionysus inflicted maenadic madness swarm over Mt. Cithaeron in three troops, or thiasi, each of which is led by one of Kadmos' three ill-fated daughters, Ino, Autonoe, and Agaue. A Roman copy of a Hellenistic inscription from Magnesia in Ionia quotes a Delphic oracle in twelve hexameters which enjoins the Magnesians to build a temple for Dionysus and to import three maenads from Thebes.

- (9) ἐλθέτε δὲ ἐς Θήβης ἱερὸν πέδον, ὅφρα λάβητε
μαινάδας, αἱ γενεῆς Εἰνοῦς ἀπο Καδμηίδης·
αἱ δ' ὑμῖν δώσουσι καὶ ὄργια καὶ νόμιμα ἐσθλὰ
(12) καὶ θιάσους Βάκχοιο καθειδρύσουσιν ἐν ἄστει.

Go to the holy plain of Thebes to fetch maenads from the race of Cadmean Ino. They will bring you maenadic rites and noble customs and will establish troops of Bacchus in your city.⁴

⁴ *IMagn.* 215(a).24-30. The text of the entire inscription, complete with preface, oracle, and postscript, can be found at O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (Berlin 1900) 139f; W. Quandt, *De Baccho ab Alexandri*

A prose postscript confirms that maenadic rites were successfully transferred: κατὰ τὸν χρησμόν διὰ τῶν θεοπρόπων ἐδόθησαν ἐκ Θηβῶν μαινάδες τρεῖς, Κοσκῶ, Βαυβῶ, Θετταλή· καὶ ἡ μὲν Κοσκῶ συνήγαγεν θίασον τὸν Πλατανιστηνῶν, ἡ δὲ Βαυβῶ τὸν πρὸ πόλεως, ἡ δὲ Θετταλή τὸν τῶν Καταibaτων. θανοῦσαι δὲ αἰτῶν ἐτάφησαν ὑπὸ Μαγνήτων, καὶ ἡ μὲν Κοσκῶ κεῖται ἐν Κοσκαβοῦνῳ, ἡ δὲ Βαυβῶ ἐν Ταβάρνει, ἡ δὲ Θετταλή πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ. "In accordance with the oracle, and through the agency of the envoys,⁵ three maenads were brought from Thebes: Kosko, Baubo, and Thettale. And Kosko organized the thiasus named after the plane tree, Baubo the thiasus outside the city, and Thettale the thiasus named after Kataibates. After their death they were buried by the Magnesians, and Kosko lies buried in the area called Hillock of Kosko, Baubo in the area called Tabarnis, and Thettale near the theater."⁶

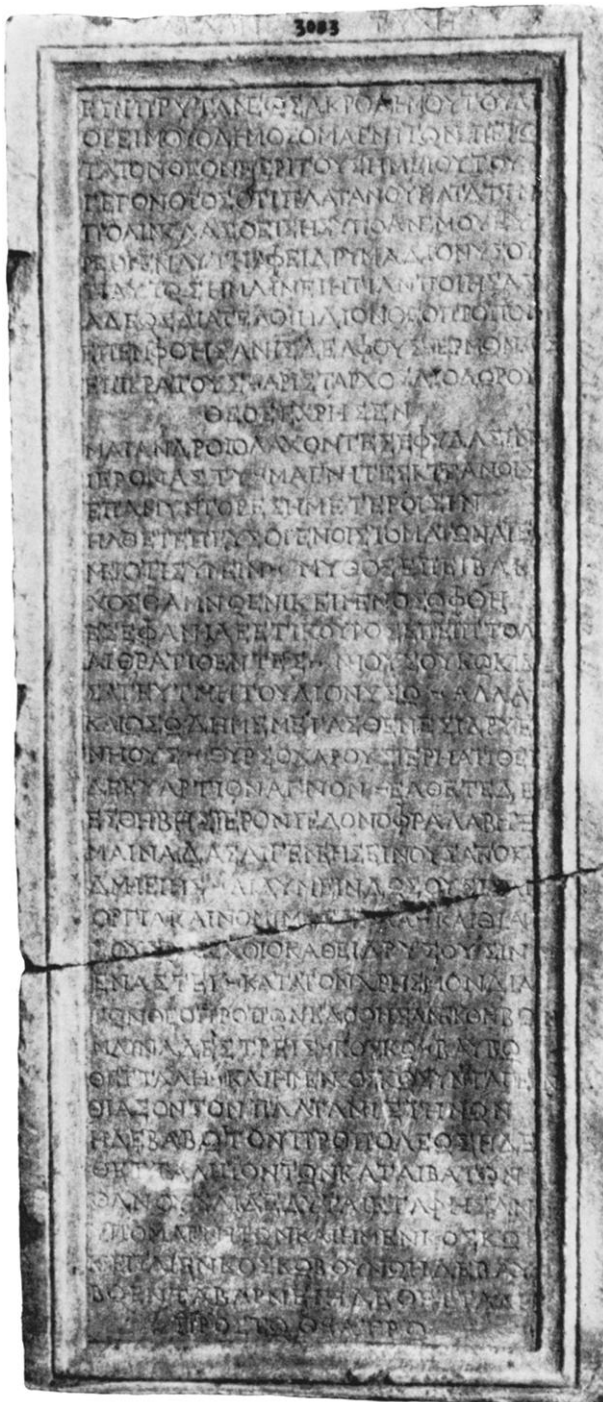
Few maenadic texts contain a comparable wealth of information about local maenads, their provenance, personal names, tombs, and titles of their thiasi. With few exceptions, therefore, historians of Greek religion have duly treated the Magnesia inscription as a principal record of cultic maenadism in the Hellenistic period.⁷ But its interpretation

aetate in Asia Minore culto, Diss. Philol. Hal. 21.2 (Halle 1913) 162f; and at *FGrHist* 482 F 5. H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (Oxford 1956) II 137 print the preface and the oracle as no. 338. The two inscriptions now known as *IMagn.* 215 were discovered and first published in 1890 (see Kern's edition for the early bibliography).

⁵ The preface records their names as Hermonax, son of Epikrates, and Aristarchos, son of Diodoros (*IMagn.* 215[a].10f).

⁶ *IMagn.* 215(a).30-41.

⁷ E. Rohde, *Psyche* (2nd ed. 1898) II 54f, n.3; J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (1903; 3rd ed. 1922) 396f; M. P. Foucart, *Le Culte de Dionysos en Attique* (1904) 31f; M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (1906) 309f; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* V (1909) 152f; O. Kern, *Die Religion der Griechen* (1926) I 85; W. F. Otto, *Dionysus, Myth and Cult* (trans. 1965) 174; W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and Their Gods* (1950) 62, 166; H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos, Histoire du Culte de Bacchus* (1951) 197f, 443; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I (2nd ed. 1955; 3rd ed. 1967) 576, II (2nd ed. 1961) 87; M. P. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (1957, rpt. 1975) 5f. Scholars have been extremely careless about the date of the inscription, partly because of Kern's own inconsistency (below, n.10). Rohde, Nilsson in *Griech. Feste*, and Otto gave no date at all. Miss Harrison apparently failed to differentiate between the date of the inscription and that of the oracle: "The inscription is of course late . . . but the main issue is clear: in the time of Hadrian at least three actual women of a particular family [see below, n.51] were called 'Maenads.'" Foucart dated the inscription in the first century B.C. [*sic*] but acknowledged that the oracle could be much older. Guthrie gave no date for the inscription but two mutually exclusive dates for the arrival of Theban maenads in Magnesia: "in the third or second century B.C." (p. 62); "For the placing of the incident in the fifth century, see Farnell, *Cults*, V, 152" (p. 166





Epigram commemorating the Milesian maenad Alkmeonis (photograph by Professor John G. Pedley).

is beset by a host of historical problems which have received no attention during the past eighty years. Before the inscription as a whole can be assigned to its appropriate place in the history of Greco-Roman maenadism, it is necessary to deal critically with the date and authenticity of the oracle proper.

The inscription is written on a rectangular marble plaque (στήλη) which was originally attached to a supporting base (βωμός) inscribed with the following dedication to Dionysus by one of his worshippers:

Θεῶ Διονύσω
Ἀπολλώνιος Μοκόλλης
ἀρχαῖος μύστης ἀρχαίου
χρησμὸν ἐπ[ί] στήλης ἀνα-
γράφας σὺν τῷ βωμῷ ἀνέθ[η]-
κεν.⁸

The *archimystes* Apollonios Mokolles, who claims credit for having the "old oracle" copied on stone, was a senior member of a Dionysiac fraternity in imperial Magnesia.⁹ A date around the middle of the

n.2). In Farnell's own words, "the inscription may belong to the second century B.C.; but the oracle must have been delivered at a far earlier date." Jeanmaire dated the inscription variously in the Hellenistic period (p. 197) or the first century A.D. (p. 443) but ascribed the oracle "à l'époque où Thèbes, comme métropole du culte de Dionysos et sa patrie, conservait son importance." (Thebes was destroyed by Alexander the Great in 335 B.C., but the oracle cannot have been written before 279/78 B.C.; see n.13 below.) Nilsson took five decades to determine the correct date for the inscription (no date in *Griech. Feste*; "middle of the 1st century B.C." [*sic*] in *Gesch.* II; "engraved in the reign of Hadrian, copied from an old inscription," *Dion. Myst.*). Kern and Nilsson remained uncommitted on the question of the oracle's authenticity. In 1957 Nilsson decided to cut the Gordian knot: (the oracle is important even if a forgery) "for a forgery must be adapted to the circumstances of the time in which it is fabricated" (*Dion. Myst.* 5 n.6). Contrast Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* II (1932) 373: "In Magnesia ist die vielfach überschätzte Inschrift 215 eine späte Kopie, die Vorlage aber war, wie Pomtow richtig erkannt hat, ein Stück der Fälschungen zur Begründung der Asylie. Zu entnehmen ist ihr nur der Dionysoskult an den drei namhaft gemachten Plätzen."

⁸ *IMagn.* 215(b). Hiller von Gaertringen copied this inscription in the spring of 1891 (*Athen. Mitt.* 16 [1891] 248; *BCH* 17 [1893] 31) when he and O. Kern saw it at Magnesia (P. Wendland and O. Kern, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie und Religion* [Berlin 1895] 82f). The base which carries the inscription has not surfaced since Kern and Hiller von Gaertringen saw it, and no photo or squeeze seems to be known (see n.10 below).

⁹ *IMagn.* 117, also of the second century A.D., attests μύσται Διονύσου for Magnesia, whose president is called ἀρχιμύστης. The striking phrase ἀρχαῖος μύστης is more than a "rhetorical antithesis to ἀρχαῖος χρησμός" (Kern). I take

second century A.D. for the extant copy is suggested by the letter forms of the inscription.¹⁰ In a passing reference, A. D. Nock described this text as “a document of historical antiquarianism”¹¹ designed to promote the local cult of Dionysus. The second century A.D. was an age which consciously imitated earlier Greek antiquity and worshiped its cultural relics. It was also a time in which the Greek cities of Asia Minor believed strongly in the authority of Apollo’s oracles. Both interests are reflected in Apollonios, who searched the past history of his city for confirmation of his religious beliefs and resurrected the Delphic foundation charter of the cult of which he was a member.

H. Pomtow saw that the Delphic response to the Magnesians and its conventional preface follow Hellenistic oracular usage.¹² Their language and content effectively allay any suspicion that Apollonios forged the oracle himself, or was deceived by a contemporary forgery. In fact I

it to be the rhetorical equivalent of ἀρχιμύστης, a common title for high-ranking members of Dionysiac clubs in the imperial period (cf. πρωτομύστης and πατρομύστης and, on the opposite end of the hierarchy, νεομύστης and νεόβακχος). In pagan inscriptions, ἀρχαῖος is occasionally used of organizations, but not individuals, to express rank: cf. τὸ σεμνότετον καὶ ἀρχαιότατον συνέδριον τῶν χρυσοφόρων νεοποιῶν, or παλαιὸν Βακχεῖον versus τὸ ἱερώτατον νέον Βακχεῖον (references in F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* [1909; rpt. 1967] 172 and 542). On the Christian side, however, the ἀρχαῖος μαθητῆς of Acts 21.16 and the νεόφυτος of I Tim. 3.6 seem to imply comparable categories of seniority if not rank (compared by G. Thiele, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia a. M. und das Neue Testament* [theol. diss. Heidelberg 1905] 26).

¹⁰ Hiller von Gaertringen suggested a date in the first half of the second century A.D. (*BCH* 17 [1893] 33). O. Kern changed his date from “Hadrianische Zeit” (*Beiträge* [above, n.8] 83) to “Mitte des 1. Jh. n. Chr.” (in his edition of *IMagn.* 215, and in *Rel. d. Griech.* [above, n.7] 85). Professor John G. Pedley, who kindly obtained for me the photo reproduced here, wrote to me in June 1969: “This inscription [*IMagn.* 215(a)] is no longer in the Tschinili-Kiosk which has reverted to what its name indicates it ought to be, a museum of Ottoman tile-work. It is now in The Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Inv. No. 3083; Foto No. 10430; Room I, central block, wall 3). Since it is recorded in the records book in the handwriting of Osman Hamdi (Hamdi Bey), Director of the Museum from 1881–1910, as being in a specific location in the Archaeological Museum, it must have been moved from the Tschinili-Kiosk at the time of the great reorganization of the Museum by Hamdi Bey, presumably between 1900 (the date of Kern’s publication) and 1910 (the date of Hamdi Bey’s retirement). The photo here is by courtesy of the Director of the Museum, Mədür Necati Dolunay, and with the help of Bayan Tülay Ergil.” Professor Pedley, whose help has been invaluable, found no trace of *IMagn.* 215(b) in the museum records.

¹¹ *Conversion* (1933) 277.

¹² *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie* (= *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*) 153 (1896) 767f.

know of no scholar who has rejected the oracle as a fabrication of *imperial* date. The hexameters of the oracle contain two veiled references to earlier historical events: the second foundation of Magnesia by the Spartan Thibron in 400/399 B.C.¹³ and the attempted Celtic raid on Delphi of 279/78 B.C.¹⁴ In addition, the preface dates the Magnesians embassy to Delphi in the prytany of Akrodemoi, that is, before the middle of the third century B.C., when the Magnesians began to date their inscriptions after the local *stephanephoroi*.¹⁵ Therefore this particular consultation of the Delphic oracle will have occurred between 278 and c. 250 B.C.

Apollonios clearly acted in good faith when he rescued the "old oracle" from oblivion. Compared to the prevailing nonmaenadic orientation of Dionysiac religion in the second century A.D., especially in Asia Minor, and to the meticulously ritualistic or highly theosophic oracles emanating from the shrines of Apollo at Claros and Didyma, the Delphic oracle which Apollonios copied must have impressed him and his contemporaries as being truly ancient. But is it also authentic, that is, did it actually originate from Delphi, or is it the surreptitious

¹³ *IMagn.* 215(a). 19–21 (verses six and seven of the oracle), ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ θρα τιθέντες / ἡρώδης οὐκ ὥκισσας' ἐὺ<δ>μήτρος Διονύσω. There is substantial evidence for the cult of Dionysus in Magnesia during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Therefore the oracle cannot possibly refer to the original foundation of Magnesia in the early Iron Age (the subject of the *Κτίσις Μαγνησίας*). Thibron abandoned the old city, which lacked walls, and refounded it on a new site (Diod. 14.36). The extant inscriptions come from the new city, and the phrase *πολλοὶ θρα τιθέντες* must refer to *its* foundation. By contrast, the original Magnesians under Leukippos did not build a new city at all but conquered an existing one (according to the spurious Delphic oracle embedded in the "Foundation of Magnesia" [*IMagn.* 17.50 = *FGrHist* 482 F 3], and Hermesianax fr. 5 Powell = Parthenius, *Erot. Path.* 5.6).

¹⁴ *IMagn.* 215(a). 14f. (verse two of the oracle) *Μάγνητες κτεάνους ἐπαμύντορες ἡμετέροιον*, a cryptic line which finds its explanation in the more detailed reference of *IMagn.* 46.8–10 (= *SIG*³ 560 = *FGrHist* 482 F 1). Kern (*Beiträge* [above, n.8] 87) made the important connection of the two passages. Pomtow (above, n.12) 765f and other scholars followed suit, but the historicity of the alleged Magnesian succor has been questioned (R. Flacelière, *Les Aitolians à Delphes* [1937] 100 n.2). If historical, the Magnesian contingent is unlikely to have been included in the five hundred mercenaries ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας whom Antiochus I dispatched in 279 to protect central Greece against the Celtic invasion (Paus. 10.20.5; cf. M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, I [1949] 429 n.4, G. Nachtergaeel, *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sôtéria de Delphes*, Académie Royale de Belgique, Mémoires 63.1 [1977] 151 n. 111). But this problem does not affect the *terminus post quem* for the oracle.

¹⁵ O. Kern, *IMagn.* (above, n.4) p. xxix; F. Jacoby on *FGrHist* 480 F 1; F. Gschnitzer, "Prytanis," *RE* Suppl. 13 (1973) 734, cf. 743ff.

production of a Magnesian forger? This latter was the view of Pomtow and Wilamowitz who declared it a Hellenistic fake similar to, and contemporary with, the quotations from fictitious Delphic oracles embedded in the so-called *Κρίσις Μαγνησίας* (*IMagn.* 17 = *FGrHist* 482 F 3).¹⁶ This dubious account of the mythical foundation of Magnesia by the hero Leukippos was among the evidence culled from Delphic oracles, from poets and from local histories of Magnesia, and put into circulation by the Magnesians in 207/06 (or 208/07?) B.C. to document their good offices to other Greek cities including Delphi and to support their request for *asylia*.¹⁷

Pomtow postulated a “Fabrik fingierter Dokumente” as the common source for both the “Foundation of Magnesia” and the “Old Oracle.”¹⁸ Wilamowitz and Jacoby identified this putative source more concretely with one of those writers of *Μαγνήτων πράξεις* whose works were used to compile the dossier of 207/06 B.C.¹⁹ It is indeed more than likely that the composite text which Apollonios copied derives ultimately from the work of a local historiographer. The narrative postscript to the oracle mentions the death of the imported maenads, an event which will have occurred many years after the Magnesians received their oracular response. This detail suggests an annalistic source which either invented the oracle or copied an authentic oracle, consisting of question and response, from the official epigraphical record in Magnesia; in either case, the local historiographer appended a brief chronicle of the events resulting from the oracle.

Historical documents appear as occasional inserts in the speeches of Attic orators and the narrative accounts of Greek historiographers. Such documents are notoriously untrustworthy, and their bad reputation casts doubt on the extant oracle. But experience has shown that one fake document does not necessarily invalidate others quoted in the same source.²⁰ More often than not, the authentic and the counterfeit

¹⁶ Pomtow (above, n.12) 755f, 765ff; Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 30 (1895) 180 = *Kl. Schr.* 5.1 (1937) 81, and *GGA* 1900, 569f = *Kl. Schr.* 5.1.356 (cf. end of n.7 above).

¹⁷ *IMagn.* 46.13f = *FGrHist* 482 F 1, διὰ τε τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμῶν καὶ διὰ τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἱστορῶν τῶν συγγεγραφότων τὰς Μαγνήτων πράξεις. This same inscription refers to the alleged support which Delphi received from the Magnesians during the Celtic invasion of central Greece (above, n.14). Cf. *IMagn.* 35.7ff, 36.7ff, 44.13ff.

¹⁸ Pomtow (above, n.12) 755; *Philologus* 54 (1895) 250.

¹⁹ F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griech. Historiker*, III b (Noten) (Leiden 1955) 226 nn.9 and 14.

²⁰ Contrast Dem. *Or.* 18 with Maccabees II. Recent papyrus finds confirmed that the various decrees and letters found in *On the Crown* originated as scholastic

coexist side by side, much to the chagrin of modern historians. I assume that a similar mixture of fact and fiction characterized the lost work of the Magnesian historiographer from which the oracle derives. Its unqualified condemnation by Pomtow and Wilamowitz is much too rigid. It would seem perverse to insist that all the oracles quoted in this source had to be Magnesian forgeries simply because the Delphic utterances inserted in the "Foundation of Magnesia" are demonstrably mythical and consequently unhistorical by modern standards of historical truth. On the contrary, the oracle of *IMagn.* 215 is by all indications authentic: it contains three chronological references which are verifiable and mutually supportive; its directives are cultic and apolitical, which would make it an atypical and rather pointless forgery; and finally, it conforms well to an established religious mechanism in which a miracle or portent leads to the consultation of Apollo, who in turn prescribes an official *Kultübertragung* or some other sort of ritual remedy.²¹ Parke and Wormell deserve credit for their refusal to treat this oracle as a *pia fraus*, but they were wrong to conclude that the original date of the inquiry cannot be determined.²² As we have seen, the Magnesians consulted the oracle between 278 and c. 250 B.C., although the exact year cannot be recovered because we lack the means of dating its eponymous magistrate.

It has been generally assumed that Apollonios copied an earlier inscription.²³ Pomtow, as we recall, went so far as to suggest that this

exercises (H. Wankel, *ZPE* 16 [1975] 151–162). But of the five historical letters quoted in chs. 9 and 11 of Maccabees II, the first is demonstrably forged whereas the other four are genuine (Ch. Habicht, *HSCP* 80 [1976] 1–18).

²¹ Numerous regional cults of Dionysus owed their existence to the Delphic oracle (Parke/Wormell [above, n.4] I 330–339, II nos. 283 and 337). E. Schmidt, *Kultübertragungen* (RGVV 8.2 [1909]) records the oracle responsible for the worship of Dionysus Phallen in Methymna (Paus. 10.19.3 = Parke/Wormell II no. 337) but omits *IMagn.* 215.

²² Parke/Wormell (above, n.4) I 335. It is difficult to see why the Magnesians should have had to resort to *pia fraus* in this particular case: they considered themselves *apoikoi* of Delphi; at the time of the alleged forgery (c. 207 B.C.), they were represented by their own *hieromnemon* in the Delphic Amphictiony; and they enjoyed the special favor of Delphi because of their help in 279/78 B.C. Under such circumstances, they would have hardly been denied a religious oracle whenever they asked for one. But an official Delphic response, even if given as a favor or *post eventum* or through some other machination of the Delphic priesthood, is no forgery.

²³ Most explicitly by E. Maass, *Hermes* 26 (1891) 183: (of Apollonios Mokolles) "... der Stifter des Altars und Erneuerer der unleserlich gewordenen Orakelinschrift."

lost inscription belonged to the same epigraphical dossier as the extant *Κτίσις Μαγνησίας*. But if the ultimate source of the oracle was annalistic, it is equally possible that Apollonios had direct access to the unknown historiographer who reported it. One is reminded of Athenaeus, who read the *Magnetika* of Possis, a native of Magnesia of unknown date and the only local historian of that city whose name has survived.²⁴

We may now proceed on the assumption that the city of Magnesia, at the urging of the Delphic oracle, actually imported three maenads from Thebes sometime between 278 and c. 250 B.C. and that these maenads died in Magnesia and were buried there at public expense, probably before 207/06 B.C.²⁵

Much of the information contained in this inscription serves only to underscore our vast ignorance of maenadic lore. Even the names of the three maenads are so unfamiliar that scholars have invested them with a religious significance to which they are hardly entitled. The names of Kosko and Baubo are especially intriguing. Although their formation can be paralleled in the nomenclature of the maenadic regions of central Greece,²⁶ Kosko seems entirely unattested as a personal name and

²⁴ Athen. 12, 533 DE = *FGrHist* 480 F 1. It is impossible to establish a reliable date for the postscript because next to nothing is known about the three locations mentioned in it. A Hellenistic theater has been found. The "Hill of Kosko" derives its name from the maenad buried in or near it. The third location *ἐν Ταβάρῃ* suggests a post-Sullan or imperial date. The same location occurs in *IMagn.* 251 (for which Kern gives no date), a dedication of a public well built *διὰ τοῦ ἐργεπιστάτου Αἰλλίου Δημονέικου*; the official's *nomen* would seem to date *IMagn.* 251 in the first half of the third century A.D. when *grammateis* of that name signed Magnesian coins. The etymology of *Ταβάρῃς* (?) is unknown: the traditional derivation from *τάβαι* ("rocks" according to Steph. Byz.; see W. Ruge, *RE* 2.Reihe 4.2 [1932] 1843) fails to convince; if *Ταβάρῃς* echoes the Latin *taberna*, as seems very likely (for the change *e* > *a* cf. *calendae*/καλάνδαι, or *veteranus*/οὐατρανός), the place name probably postdates the Sullan era when Magnesia came into lasting contact with Rome. It is not inconceivable, therefore, that Apollonios Mokolles discovered the "ancient oracle" in a not so ancient local history whose author identified the location of the three maenadic tombs in terms of the topography of his own time.

²⁵ They were remembered presumably because they were identified as maenads on the stelai which marked their graves (compare the tombstone of the Milesian maenad Alkmeonis, below, section III). Farnell, *Cults* V 152, suggests that they received heroic honors, like other religious *κτίσται*. A group of mythical maenads, the Aegean "Haliai," who had died in battle for Dionysus, lay in a common grave in Argos; one of them, called Choreia, was buried separately (Paus. 2.20.4, 22.1).

²⁶ E.g., *Δορκώ* at Thespiiai, Boeotia; early third century B.C.: *Athen. Mitt.* 56 (1931) 127f = W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* (1955) no. 1501 = Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte* (1960) no. 225. *Δεξίω* at Elateia, Phokis; early third

Ba(u)bo is not found in Greece proper except as an important personification of ritual obscenity in various Demeter cults. The name Baubo is apparently related to βαμβώ and βαμβᾶν, two words for the female parts and their sexual function.²⁷ But in Roman Anatolia, Babo was used as a personal name; in Byzantine Greek, a female bogey of the night was called Babo; and in modern Greek, Babo survives as a dialect word for an old woman.²⁸ Kosko hypocoristically echoes the Greek word for "sieve" (κόσκινον), which was used not only as a household utensil but also in magic.²⁹ The geographical name Thetale could suggest origin, as from Thessaly, the homeland of the Ionian Magnesians. On the other hand, Thessaly was famous for its witches, known as Θεσσαλαί, throughout antiquity.³⁰ All three names seem to oscillate mysteriously between the profane and the cultic. But their Dionysiac reference remains obscure — if in fact they are cultic.

It would perhaps be wrong to press this point. Individual names of historical maenads need not be religiously significant or otherwise meaningful: on a tombstone from Miletus, a local maenad is called

century B.C.: *IG* 9.1.163 = Peek, *GV* 1502 = *GG* 226. 'Ερατώ at Daulis, Phokis; third century B.C.: *REA* 8 (1906) 284 = *GV* 1655 = *GG* 214. There is no evidence for the use of Dionysiac *signa* in the Hellenistic period.

²⁷ F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (RGVV 33 [Berlin 1974]) 168ff.

²⁸ For Βαβω as a personal name see L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine*, I (1963) 368f. Βαμβώ and Βαβώ appear as variants in the late Hellenistic period and later (cf. F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, I [1976] 226ff on αυ>α, with many examples). ΒΑΒΩ was corrected to ΒΑ'Υ'ΒΩ by the masons who cut *IG* 12.5.227 (Paros; first century B.C.) and *IMagn.* 215(a).35 (contrast ΒΑΥΒΩ in lines 39f). In MSS, Βαμβώ/Βαβώ occur as variant spellings in the following places: Harpocr. s.v. Βαμβούς (= Sud. β 8 Βαβούς), where alphabetization guarantees Βαμβούς for Harpocraton; Harpocr. s.v. Δυσούλης (= Sud. δ 1598) = Asklepiades of Troilos *FGH Hist* 12 F 5; Sud. β 195 Βαυώ/Βαμβώ/Βαβώ = δ 473 Βαυώ/Βαβώ. Cf. W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen* (3rd ed., 1867–1870) s.v. Βαβώ; O. Kern on *Orph. fr.* 53; W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (2nd ed. 1952) 135f (note esp. 136 on *IMagn.* 215: "Since there can be no doubt that the Maenad was called after the goddess or daemon of that name, this shows us Baubo on Anatolian ground at an earlier date than that of the inscription on Paros." But the imported maenad was given her name in Thebes rather than Magnesia.).

²⁹ A. Dieterich, *Abraxas* (1891) 149, and Gunning, "Kosko," *RE* 22 (1922) 1484ff, explain Κοσκώ as κοσκινώματος (Theocr. *Id.* 3.31) and suggest a connection with magical coscinomancy (cf. Th. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* II [1924] 146 §309). Nilsson, *Feste* (above, n.7) 310, equates κόσκινον and λίκνον and relates both to Dionysiac cult.

³⁰ D. E. Hill, "The Thessalian trick," *Rhein. Mus.* 116 (1973) 221ff.

Alkmeonis, a unique but thoroughly profane name. But the three women from Magnesia and the one from Miletus are the only historical maenads before the imperial period whose names are known, too few for valid conclusions. Far from being a reliable guide for earlier periods, Dionysiac nomenclature in imperial texts is itself inconclusive: of some four hundred *cognomina* of Bacchic initiates in an inscription from Torre Nova now in the Metropolitan Museum, only one or two bear a clear Dionysiac stamp.³¹ But names of maenads in poetry tend to be suggestive and colorful, like Eurynome, Helikonias, Glauke, and Xanthippe; occasionally they are downright Dionysiac, like Euanthe, Choreia, and Porphyris.³² The Hellenistic and Roman poets who named their maenads in this fashion continued the similar practice of earlier vase painters. The satyrs, nymphs, or maenads of the Bacchic thiasus on Greek vases of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. are often identified by highly suggestive names which evoke various associations with vegetation, animals, dances, sex, or other aspects of the Dionysiac experience.³³ On a vase fragment in Boston with the earliest representation of the death of Pentheus, one of the maenads shown dismembering the king is euphemistically called Galene, "Calmness."³⁴ The contrast between the maenad's innocent name and her cruel act may be seen as an illustration of the emotional instability of the maenads, which Euripides captures so well in the two messenger speeches of the *Bacchae*. But in real life, the maenads bore less provocative names.

So much for maenadic names. The three thiasoi led by Kosko, Baubo, and Thetale were presumably named after the places where they met. The phrase *πρὸ πόλεως* suggests a rural shrine of Dionysus outside the city limits of Magnesia and perhaps in a natural scenery of woods and hills as befits the god of the maenads.³⁵ The grove of plane trees from which the second thiasus of *Πλατανιστηνοί* or *Πλατανιστηναί* derived its name had been the scene of a miraculous epiphany of Dionysus Dendrites.³⁶ According to the preface of the inscription, the Magnesians

³¹ A. Vogliano and F. Cumont (above, n.2) 227ff.

³² *AP* 6.74; 6.134; 6.165; Paus. 2.20.4 (above, n.25); *AP* 6.172.

³³ Ch. Fränkel, *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern* (1912).

³⁴ Boston, MFA 10.221 (attributed to Euphronios). See Beazley, *ARV²* p. 16 no. 14; L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase-paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston II* (1954) no. 66 pl. 31; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (1975) fig. 28.

³⁵ *ZPE* 4 (1969) 233 and 241.

³⁶ O. Kern, *Beiträge* (above, n.8) 92. The name is formed from *πλατάνιστος* ("plane tree"), or *πλατανιστής* ("grove of plane trees"), and a Hellenistic suffix common in Asia Minor (cf. A. Debrunner, *Griechische Wortbildungslehre*

consulted the Delphic oracle because they had found an image of Dionysus in a plane tree which a storm had left cloven.³⁷ The location of the tree is given as *κατὰ τὴν πόλιν*, which would seem to place it in the area of the city proper and at a distance from the rural Dionysus *πρὸ πόλεως*. But who are the *Καταιβάται* of the third thiasus? Our best guess is that their name reflects that of Zeus Kataibates, or Zeus who descends in lightning.³⁸ They will have met at a location where the lightning of Zeus had struck, and which was therefore taboo except for religious use. It may be relevant here that it was the lightning of Zeus which killed Semele and delivered Dionysus.

But the real crux which obscures *Καταιβάται* is its form, which is clearly masculine: the thiasus of the *Καταιβάται* must have included male members.³⁹ If so, it cannot have been genuinely maenadic. In Greece proper, ritual maenadism was restricted to women, at least down to the end of the Hellenistic period.⁴⁰ But throughout that period, the term *θίασος* was widely used for any private group of worshippers; their

[1917] 162 §321). Wilamowitz must have nodded when he derived this name from a suburban village "Platanistos (oder wie die Endung lautete)" which he invented (*GGA* 1900, 569f = *Kl. Schr.* 5.1 [1937] 356).

³⁷ *IMagn.* 215(a).5-7.

³⁸ E. Maass (above, n.23) 186f.

³⁹ This thiasus has often been described as a "troop of maenads" (e.g., by Farnell, *Cults* V 193); I am guilty of the same error (*ZPE* 4 [1969] 240). The correct interpretation can be found in LSJ s.v. *Καταιβάται*, *οἱ*: "members of a thiasos of worshippers of Dionysus" (with reference to *IMagn.* 215). The feminine *καταιβάτις* is attested in Hellenistic poetry.

⁴⁰ I know of no exception. The two Milesian inscriptions (above, n.2) differentiate women's *orgia* from other Dionysiac rites which were open to both men and women. The Bacchic initiation (*τελετή*) of Skyles was not maenadic (Herod. 4.79). In the *Bacchae*, Kadmos, Teiresias, and Pentheus, though dressed up as maenads for dramatic purposes, never join the maenads of Thebes. (Cf. W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* [Stuttgart 1977] 435, on *Bacch.* 460-76: "Hier überlagert sich also der Mythos vom Frauenaufstand mit der Praxis geheimer, geschlechtsindifferenten, auf Initiation beruhender Feiern.") *Bacch.* 115 (as emended by Elmsley) and 135 (in J. Roux's interpretation) must be discounted as evidence for male participation in maenadic thiasoi. Naturally women identified as maenads are found in the company of men who participate in nonmaenadic rites for Dionysus (e.g., Eur. *Ion* 550ff; possibly *AP* 7.485 [below, n.122]; maenads in the Bacchic parade of Ptolemy II [below, n.46]; and, apparently, Ennius, *Athamas* 123ff Vahlen = fr. 261 Diehl = fr. 52 Jocelyn). The rare cases in which men donned women's clothes during a Dionysiac *komos* illustrate sympotic practice at "stag parties" but have nothing to do with ritual maenadism (cf. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* [1972] II 345 n.112, 715 n.140 on Lucian *Calumn.* 16, and M. P. Nilsson, *Opusc. Sel.* III 81ff on the Anacreon vases).

worship need not have been maenadic, or even Dionysiac. Thettale, herself a professional maenad from Thebes, will have been the officially appointed "chairwoman"⁴¹ of a Bacchic thiasus of men and, presumably, women who celebrated nonmaenadic revels. The other two thiasoi over which Kosko and Baubo presided might have been maenadic, but there is no guarantee that they were. Because of its remote location, the thiasus *πρὸ πόλεως* will have provided the most suitable ambience for maenadic activities.

Being a maenad was a periodic and temporary occupation which did not exclude taking an active part in other forms of Dionysiac cult. As we shall see, the Milesian maenad Alkmeonis in the late third century B.C. was not only the official leader of local maenads but also a public priestess of Dionysus, who had nonmaenadic functions. Bacchic revels of both men and women under female leadership are attested for the Roman Bacchanalia which caused the scandal of 186 B.C. Of Greek origin, this Roman cult was initially restricted to women; very likely it also observed the trieteric periodicity typical of ritual maenadism.⁴² Shortly after its introduction from Etruria or Campania, perhaps

⁴¹ The cognates *συνάγειν συναγωγή*, and *συναγωγεύς* were used technically in inscriptions in connection with either the foundation or the regular meetings of professional or religious clubs (cf. Poland, *Vereinswesen* 653 s.v.v.; the phrase *συναγαγεῖν τὸν θίασον* recurs in the Milesian inscription of 276/75 B.C. [above, n.2]).

⁴² Livy 39.13.8 *primo sacrarium id feminarum fuisse, nec quemquam eo virum admitti solitum. tres in anno statos dies habuisse quibus interdiu Bacchis initiarentur; sacerdotes in vicem matronas creari solitas*. B. Feyerabend suggests that *biennio* at 39.10.6 and *biennio proximo* at 39.13.14 are vestiges of a trieteric pattern of initiation. (If so, Livy's *tres in anno statos dies* is the result of malicious exaggeration on part of his sources.) One may compare the similar phrase *εἰς διετίαν* in the Iobakchoi inscription: L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* II (1906) no. 46 = *Syll.*³ 1109 = Sokolowski, *LSCG* (above, n.2) no. 51, line 147; Poland, *Vereinswesen* (above, n.9) 419: "Die Dauer der Amtszeit beträgt . . . in der Regel ein Jahr. . . Eine merkwürdige Einzelheit ist die ausdrückliche Bestimmung der Iobakchen, dass der Tamias stets auf zwei Jahre zu wählen ist." Apart from the *SC de Bacchanalibus* (above, n.2), the maenads of Magna Graecia survived only in the artistic portrayals found on South Italian vases. A neglected fragment of Aristoxenus of Tarentum reports that around 350 B.C. women of Rhegium and Locri Epizephyrii (both in Bruttium, the provenance of the extant copy of the *SC*) suffered from a temporary mental disturbance which was accompanied by maenadic symptoms and presumably related to Dionysus in general or ritual maenadism in particular (Aristox. fr. 36 Müller = fr. 117 Wehrli² ap. Apollon. *Hist. Mirab.* 40): *ἐκτάσεις γὰρ γίνεσθαι τοιαύτας ὥστε ἐνίοτε καθημένας καὶ δειπνούσας ὡς καλοῦντός τινος (a divine voice?) ὑπακούειν, εἴτα ἐκπηδᾶν ἀκατασχέτους γυγνομένας καὶ τρέχειν ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως*. The cure prescribed by the Delphic oracle consisted in the singing of paeans during spring-time. The mysterious voice which unbalanced the women, and their sudden and

around 187 B.C., the maenadic pattern was converted to a wild Bacchic ritual of wine and sex orgies in which young men mingled with Roman matrons in maenadic gear.⁴³ The Roman senate intervened promptly and placed Bacchic cults throughout Italy under Roman supervision: worshipers of both sexes were allowed to meet jointly in very small groups provided that only women were admitted to the priesthood and that they outnumbered men in each congregation.⁴⁴ In the eyes of the Roman authorities, Bacchic rites were clearly women's business. But at the same time Rome recognized other nonmaenadic forms of Dionysiac cult which had many followers in the Greek-speaking regions of Southern Italy.

No such perversion is likely to have occurred in the Magnesian cult. But the Roman Bacchanalia remind us that Dionysus could occasionally release his faithful from the strictures of conventional morality. Perhaps something more should be said about maenads and the opposite sex, or maenadism and sex. The satyrs of myth and folklore are in a permanent state of sexual arousal: the satyr plays and vase painters leave us in no doubt about their animalistic desires. The maenads use their thyrsi and snakes to ward off the sexual attacks of the satyrs, or become the unwilling victims of satyric lust when caught with their defenses down. Were the maenads of Dionysiac cult similarly, or even more actively, involved with male companions? Pentheus in the *Bacchae* is convinced that they were, but the first messenger is at pains to defend their honor. We do not know enough about the real maenads of Euripides' own time to decide if their behavior gave cause for complaint. Doubt about the morality of the maenads was presumably not so much a real issue in fifth century Athens or Macedonia as an invention of Euripides or Aeschylus as playwrights who exploited it as a dramatic foil for Pentheus' own prurient curiosity, which precipitated his downfall. The sources are unanimous that maenadic thiasoi were led by women, never by men. Occasionally Dionysus himself is hailed as the "leader of the

agitated escape from their normal way of life, highlighted by the "Bacchic verb" *πηδᾶν* (J. Roux [below, n.53] II 355), have close parallels in *Bacch.* 1078–1094. The Delphic cure is similar to the homeopathic treatment which the Proetids received from the prophet Melampus (E. Rohde, *Psyche* [above, n.7] II 51f; *ZPE* 14 [1974] 300f).

⁴³ Livy 39.13.12 *matronas Baccharum habitu crinibus sparsis cum ardentibus facibus decurrere ad Tiberim*.

⁴⁴ *CIL* I² 581 (above, n.2) line 7, *Bacas vir nequis adiese velet* (certain exceptions were made); 10, *sacerdos nequis vir eset*; 19f, *homines plous V oinvorsei virei atque mulieres sacra ne quisquam fecise velet, neve inter ibei virei plous duobus, mulieribus plous tribus arfuise velent*.

swift maenads.”⁴⁵ a role which was both real and ideal, depending on how strongly a maenad felt about the cultic epiphanies of the god. The satyrs of myth did not intrude into Dionysiac cult except when the mythical entourage of Dionysus was artificially revived, for instance in the Bacchic pageant staged by Ptolemy II in Alexandria, or during the Bacchic reception which the Ephesians gave Mark Antony when he made his entry as the New Dionysus, or in the masked dances in honor of Dionysus which became fashionable in Asia Minor in the imperial period.⁴⁶ But on occasions like these, the fake satyrs lacked the active wantonness of their mythical models, and their female companions in maenadic costume had nothing to fear.

The true maenads of cult also seem to have enjoyed some measure of public protection. Plutarch makes this point in the most charming of his stories about maenads.⁴⁷ He tells us how one night in the winter of 354/353 B.C. the Thyiads of Delphi, astray and exhausted, fell asleep in the marketplace of Amphissa, a town then in a state of war and full of soldiery. The women of Amphissa formed a protective wall around the sleeping maenads. When they woke up, they gave them food and obtained the leave of their husbands to see them safely across the border. This story, whether true or not, throws an interesting light on the social status of Hellenistic maenads and on the public attitude toward maenadism: the rites of official colleges of maenads such as the Delphic Thyiads were not offensive or suspicious in the public eye; their madness, whatever its nature, was not infectious; the freedom of movement which they enjoyed during their ritual formed a marked contrast to the seclusion of ordinary women. It would be hazardous to vouch for the virtue of every maenad in the Hellenistic period. But unlike other forms of Dionysiac religion which encouraged occasional license, the rites of the maenads were *orgia* in the ritual sense but not orgies in the modern pejorative sense of that term.

The inscription from Magnesia is an important document for the history of maenadism not only in Ionia but also in Thebes. Without it, we could not be so sure that maenadism was ever practiced in the home town of Dionysus. Nothing illustrates more drastically how little we know about Greek maenads. In myth, Thebes is *the* stronghold of

⁴⁵ *Brit. Mus. Inscr.* 902 (Halicarnassus, third century B.C.) *θοῶν ληναγέτας Βακχῶν*.

⁴⁶ Athen. 5.27ff (197e ff) = Callixenus of Rhodes *FGrHist* 627; Plut. *Ant.* 24; Lucian *Salt.* 79. In the *Bacchae*, satyrs are mentioned only once (130), in the course of an aetiological digression.

⁴⁷ Plut. *Mul. virt.* 13 (249EF); cf. P. A. Stadter, *Plutarch's Historical Methods: An Analysis of the Mulierum Virtutes* (1965) 79f.

maenadism; the three daughters of Kadmos are the most prominent mythical maenads, who seem to belong to an older stratum of Dionysiac myth than the three Proetids or the three Minyads. But evidence for actual maenadism in Thebes is scarce. According to three Hellenistic inscriptions, a trieteric sacrifice in honor of Dionysos Kadmeios was held in Thebes at the festival of the Agrionia.⁴⁸ The "wild" name of the festival, in combination with the trieteric periodicity of the sacrifice, strongly suggests a maenadic ambience. Surprisingly, Pausanias, otherwise an expert on local cults, has nothing to say about Theban maenads, although he visited the sacred precinct of Semele in Thebes. Pausanias' silence on the subject of Theban maenadism could be interpreted to signal its decline, or disappearance, at some time between 150 B.C. and A.D. 150. The same Pausanias, however, is the only ancient author who claims that he actually saw real maenads, and perhaps even talked to them. For he tells us elsewhere, in his book on Phocian cults (10.4.2f), that he learned from the Thyiads in Athens why the village of Panopeus was called *καλλίχορος*, "with fair dancing grounds," in Greek epic. The Thyiads, Pausanias explains, were Attic women who joined their fellow maenads in Delphi every other year to celebrate maenadic rites on Mt. Parnassus, and who held maenadic dances along their slow way from Athens to Delphi.⁴⁹

II. INO, THE ARCHETYPAL MAENAD

It is no accident that the maenads whom the Magnesians imported from Thebes were three in number. The three Theban maenads are the ritual counterpart of Kadmos' three daughters, an indication of a close

⁴⁸ L. Robert, *BCH* 59 (1935) 193-198 = *Opera Minora Selecta* I (1969) 261-266; A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (2nd ed. 1968) 309f no. 4 and 314f no. 10a; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (1972) 194 nn.21 and 23. B. Feyerabend reminds me that the Theban *θυοία τῶν τριετηρίδων* (mentioned in the Amphictionic decrees *Fouilles de Delphes* III 1 no. 351, last quarter of third century B.C.) confirms Diod. 4.3.2, τοὺς μὲν Βοιωτοὺς . . . καταδείξαι τὰς τριετηρίδας θυοίας Διονύσω (below, section III). All three inscriptions, and Hesych. α 788, connect the Agrionia in Hellenistic Thebes with an *agon* performed by the Artists of the Nemean and Isthmian Games, which were trieteric: if maenads took part in the Agrionia, ritual maenadism was already interfused with popular entertainment for *pasa polis*.

⁴⁹ Documentation for maenadism at Delphi ceases in the last quarter of the third century B.C. when Aristonous wrote his Paean to Apollo (J. U. Powell, *Collect. Alex.* p. 163, v. 37, τριετίσιν φαναῖς Βρόμιος) and resumes more than three centuries later when Plutarch's learned friend Klea served as *archeis* ("head maenad") of the Delphic Thyiads. The ubiquity of the cult of Dionysus in the

correspondence between local Dionysiac myth and ritual in Hellenistic Thebes. The triple organization of the maenads in actual cult is not attested for any other place and may have been a Theban specialty.⁵⁰ Theban provenance was apparently recognized as a mark of good maenadic breeding: the Magnesians were “of the race of Kadmeian Ino,” that is, native women of Thebes. On Tenos, too, Thebes was regarded as the home of ritual maenadism: in a fragmentary tomb inscription found on the island, a “maenad of wild Bromios” (*θυσσάδος ἀγροτέρου Βρομίου*) participates “in the rites of the girl from the race of Agenor,” Ino’s paternal grandfather (*ἐν τελεταῖσιν Ἀγηνορίδ[ος]*).⁵¹ Nothing in the *Bacchae* explains why Ino should have been more prominent than her two sisters.⁵² In the *Odyssey* (5.333ff), however, she is equated with the marine goddess Leukothea, and in actual cult she was widely worshiped under the double name of Ino-Leukothea.

Hellenistic period suggests that Delphic maenadism did not become defunct during that interval but continued without serious interruption, though demonstrably not without some changes, from preclassical into Roman times.

⁵⁰ Contrast E. R. Dodds on *Bacch.* 680: “This triple organization is also attested for Rhodes (*IG* xii.1.937), and was probably universal.” Dodds was wrong. *IG* 12.1.937 (Lindos; first century B.C.) mentions a *κοινόν* of worshipers of Dionysus, Athena and Zeus Atabyrios — a triple division, but one which is neither maenadic nor exclusively Dionysiac.

⁵¹ *IG* 12.5.972 (second century A.D.) = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 871 as restored by Wilamowitz, *Glaube* (above n.7) II 374. Ino is *Ἀγηνορίς* at Opp. *Cyn.* 4.237; in Euripides’ *Ino* (*Hyg. Fab.* 4.2) and in Nonnos *D.* 9.285ff she introduces maenadic rites to the Delphic Thyiads. According to Wilamowitz, the three maenads from Thebes, and Isia, the maenad from Tenos, claimed direct descent from Ino (did he construe *θυσσάδος* with *Ἀγηνορίδος*?). But Ino’s two sons did not survive their mother; their premature death signaled the end of that lineage. In the Magnesians inscription (v. 10 αἱ γενεῆς εἰνοῦς ἀπο Καδμηείης), connect *Ἰνοῦς* . . . *Καδμηείης*, as in Nonnos *D.* 21.181f *Καδμείην* . . . *Ἰνώ* and *D.* 44.58 *Καδμηῆς Ἀγαύη*, but contrast *D.* 46.296 *Καδμείην* . . . *γενέθλην* (“the Thebans”).

⁵² Modern scholars have found a plausible explanation; cf. W. F. Otto, *Dionysus* (above, n.7) 72f and 174; H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (above, n.7) 340ff. Otto thought that Ino, “a goddess of the element of moisture,” was drawn into the circle of Dionysus “because she was related to him in the essence of her nature” (an explanation which would also fit the nonmaritime but nymph-like Ino-Leukothea from Thessaly); Jeanmaire, too, suggests that Ino’s pre-Dionysiac characteristics, including her association with the wet element, predestined her to become “la nourrice par excellence de Dionysos” and “le modèle des Bacchantes dionysiaques.” The curious dedication of imperial date to *deae Semelae et sororibus eius deabus* (*CIL* XIII 2.8244) is the result of religious syncretism with the Celtic *Deae Matres* and does not detract from Ino’s special status.

A Hellenistic dedication from Melitaia in Thessaly is addressed to Ino as a general protectress of domestic wealth. Sophron, son of Lysander, commissioned two sculptors to make a statue of the goddess, which he dedicated to her with the following epigram:⁵³

δημότις, ὦ Βάχχοιο τιθηνήτειρα, καλὴ
 Σώφρονος· ἀλλ' ἔμπης ὥς τις ἀπὸ κτεάνων
 πολλῶν, λευκίζωνε, τόδε βρέτας ὥπασεν, Ἰνῶϊ,
 υἱὸς ὁ Λυσάνδρου κεκ<ρ>ιμένον χάρισιν.
 οὔνεκεν, ὦ δέσποινα, τεὰς ἀνὰ χεῖρας ὑπερθε
 οἴκου καὶ κτεάνων Σώφρονος ἀέν ἔχεις.

Sophron's hut is that of a commoner, dear nurse of Bacchus. But like a rich man, Lysander's son nonetheless gave this graceful⁵⁴ image [to you], Ino of the white girdle. Therefore, Lady, may you always hold your hands over the house and possessions of Sophron.

Three skillful distichs address the divine recipient, describe the gift, and end with a personal prayer for domestic bliss. They are preceded and followed by prosaic data which furnish the names of the dedicant, of the holder of the shrine's priesthood, and of the two craftsmen who sculptured the image of the goddess.⁵⁵ Like many other dedications in verse, the poem throughout reflects the reciprocal piety of *do ut des*:

⁵³ T. G. Spyropoulos, *Arch. Deltion* 25 (1970) chron. 240 and pl. 211a (ed. pr.); J. Pouilloux in J. Roux, *Euripide, Les Bacchantes* II. Bibl. Fac. Lettr. Lyon 21 (Paris 1972) 634; J. and L. Robert, "Bull. épigr." 1973, 236; W. Peek, *Philol.* 117 (1973) 66–69 (whose text I follow, except for Ἰν[ῶ] in verse 3).

⁵⁴ I adopt Peek's emendation of *KEKAIMENON*. He translates "durch Anmut ausgezeichnet."

⁵⁵ Most dictionaries, ancient and modern, insist that *brétas* is a *wooden* image of a deity; it has even been suggested that *brétas* and "Brett" are etymological cognates (K. Meuli as reported by R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 9 [1972] 84, and in K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* [1975] II 1051). In actual usage, however, *brétas* was a rare and mostly poetic term for any divine image; like *xióanon*, it was usually used regardless of material. Some *brétai* are known to have been made of wood, most notably that of Samian Hera (the *xióos saús* of Callimachus fr. 100.2), and the old statue of Athena Polias carved out of olive-wood (the *xióon* . . . *brétas* of Aristophanes *Lys.* 262). But at least one famous *brétas* was chryselephantine: the statue of Olympian Zeus by Phidias which is called *xióalma* in Pausanias 5.10.2 and *xióanon* in Strabo 8.3.30 (353) but *thiúon* *brétas* in Callim. fr. 196.29. Cf. Peek (above, n.53) 67 n.1: "brétas könnte gesuchter Ersatz für *xióalma* (*eikón*) sein, wenn das Wort sonst auch erst in späterer Zeit so gebraucht wird." (He quotes examples from the imperial period, but the usage is clearly Hellenistic.)

a man of modest means (at least so he claims) makes an expensive gift of a custom-made statue, doubtless of Ino-Leukothea, in expectation of her favors.⁵⁶

The talented but anonymous author of the epigram has been plausibly identified as Theodoridas of Syracuse, who is known to have written for Thessalian clients in the second half of the third century B.C.⁵⁷ To mark the traditional contrast between the lavish gift and the dedicant's humble status, the poet has chosen words which are singularly appropriate. Two earlier Hellenistic poets, Perses and Callimachus, used the antithesis of *μεγάλα* and *δημότερα* to express the difference between rich and poor;⁵⁸ and *καλή*, which tends to occupy the final position in hexameters, connotes both poverty and generous hospitality, as in Callimachus' *Hekale* and perhaps also in his aition about the reception which poor Molorchos gave to gluttonous Heracles before the hero's victory over the Nemean lion.⁵⁹

Although the dedicant and also the priest of her cult in Melitaia were both men, Ino retained much of her feminine status. She is still the "Nurse of Bacchus," and the additional titles *λευκόζωνος* and *δέσποινα* confirm her role as foster mother, which is unknown to the authors of

⁵⁶ The prayer to return the favor is conventional (e.g., *AP* 6.42.6 *καὶ ἀντιδιδούς δὸς πλεόν ὧν ἔλαβες*, *AP* 6.152, 209, 238), and the beginning of verse 6 is echoed in *AP* 6.155.6 (Theodoridas; dedication to Apollo) *οἴκου καὶ κτεάνων χεῖρας ὑπερβεν ἔχων*. The plea for divine protection is phrased in words which are formulaic: in addition to the texts listed by Peek (above, n.53) 68, cp. *Iliad* 5.433 *χεῖρά θ' ὑπερβεν ἔχεις* and Konon, *Dieg.* 49.2 (*FGrHist* 26 F 1), *Ἀπόλλων τόξον αὐτῶν ὑπερανασχών* (contrast Ap. Rhod. 4.1709; see Pfeiffer on Callim. fr. 7.19–21).

⁵⁷ Peek (above, n.53) 68f. His ascription is based on the verbal echo in *AP* 6.155 (preceding note), and on various similarities of style (add Theodoridas' tendency to repeat the name of the dedicant — his client — within the short space of three or even two distichs; cf. *AP* 6.155 and 157).

⁵⁸ Callim. fr. 228.71f (with Pfeiffer's reference to Perses *AP* 9.334.2ff *μὴ μεγάλαν δὲ γλίσχον / ὥς ὃ τι δημοτέρων δύναται θεὸς ἀνδρὶ πενέστη | δωρεῖσθαι, τούτων κύριός εἰμι Τύχων* [cf. Men. *Aspis* 147f Sandb.]).

⁵⁹ Callim. fr. 263.3 *φιλοξένοιο καλῆς*, of *Hekale*'s house which was poor but hospitable (Pfeiffer on fr. 231.2, 252, 292, 525). Nonnos, a keen imitator of Callimachus, narrates how Dionysus was entertained by the poor mountain dweller Brongos: *Βάκχον ἀνὴρ ἄγραυλος ἐρημάδι δέκτο καλῆι | Βρόγγος* (*D.* 17.39f), and goes on to describe the rustic meal which Brongos served, with explicit reference to Molorchos' reception of Heracles (17.51ff, cf. Callim. frs. 54–59; F. Solmsen, *Kl. Schr.* 1 [1968] 235–238, and P. J. Parsons, *ZPE* 25 [1977] 43f). In Plato and Xenophon, and in Hellenistic prose, *δημοτικός* is used occasionally in combination with *πρᾶος* and *φιλάνθρωπος* (cf. LSJ); its poetic synonym *δημότης* in itself thus serves to reinforce the notion of generous hospitality in *καλιὰ*.

the *Odyssey*, the *Theogony*, and the *Ehoiai*,⁶⁰ as well as to Euripides in his *Bacchae* and, presumably, his *Ino*. But according to Pherekydes of Athens, Ino received the divine child from the Dodonean nymphs who were the original Διονύσου τροφοί.⁶¹ In extant literature, however, it is not before Ovid that Ino has become fully established as nurse of Dionysus.⁶² Since the epigram from Melitaia antedates Ovid by more than two centuries, its mythological reference helps to reduce the gap between Ovid and his Hellenistic sources.

Ino's epithets δέσποινα and λευκόζωνος suit her remarkably well. Δέσποινα was a common title of goddesses who presided over animal life, vegetation, and the productive forces in nature, for instance of Artemis, Demeter, Kybele, and various nymphs.⁶³ The girdle, ζώνη, was a symbol of virginity and motherhood; βαθύζωνος is an epic epithet of Leto and of nymphs, and Hera is called πορφυρόζωνος in Bacchylides.⁶⁴ But the white girdle has of course been tailored for Ino-Leukothea, the "White Goddess."⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Unless one adopts R. Merkelbach's restoration of Hes. fr. 70.2-6 M.-W.

⁶¹ *FGrHist* 3 F 90cd. The respective roles of Ino and the nymphs are reversed in [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 3 (28f) 4.3. In Dionysiac myth, the Διονύσσιοι τιθῆναι tend to be interchangeable with nymphs (who are by nature κουροτρόφοι, see M. L. West on Hes. *Theog.* 347) and maenads (one of whom was Ino).

⁶² Ovid *M.* 3.313, 4.421, 524, *F.* 6.485; *AP* 7.384.1 (early first century A.D.) τροφὸς Ἰνώ; Plut. *Aet. Rom.* 17 (267E), τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐπιτηνήσατο; Paus. 3.24.4f (Prasiai, southern Argolid), ἀποφαίνουσι μὲν τὸ ἄντρον ἐνθα τὸν Διόνυσον ἔθρεψεν Ἰνώ; [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 3 (28) 4.3; Opp. *Cyn.* 4.237ff; Hyg. *Fab.* 2.4; Nonnos *D.* 9.53 ff., 39.104 f. According to Paus. 3.19.3, the relief on the late-archaic altar at the Amyklaion near Sparta showed among various other gods, and heroes, of fertility, a Dionysiac group composed of Zeus, Hera, Dionysus, Semele, and Ino (cf. M. J. Mellink, *Hyakinthos* [1943] 48ff); but the female figure whom Pausanias identifies as Ino was presumably, in the concept of the artist Bathylkes (c. 500 B.C.), a nameless nymph. It remains unknown when Ino inherited her function as nurse of Dionysus. W. F. Otto's assertion (*Dionysus* [above, n.7] 73: "The association of Ino with Dionysus . . . is, without question, age-old"), though difficult to substantiate, is doubtless closer to the truth than the unwarranted skepticism of Wilamowitz (*Glaube* [above, n.7] I 408: "Ob auch sie [Ino] mit Dionysos verbunden war, muss unklar bleiben, weil die Bezeugung zu schwach ist").

⁶³ *HSCP* 80 (1976) 253-286, esp. 259f and 274.

⁶⁴ LSJ s.v. βαθύζωνος; Bacch. 11.49; cf. Pind. *O.* 6.39f (of Euadne who is ready to give birth to Iamos), ἃ δὲ φωνικόκροκον ζῶναν καταθηκαμένα; Pfeiffer on Callim. fr. 110.54. According to its editor, the Hellenistic relief from Larisa (below, n.66) shows both Leukothea and the woman before her dressed in a chiton which is ἐξωσμένος (but the photograph is too poor to verify his description).

⁶⁵ Leukothea's ζώνη is not related to the magical κρήδεμνον of *Od.* 5.346ff,

Ino-Leukothea, commonly known as a sea goddess, held a prominent place among the deities worshiped in Hellenistic Thessaly and Boeotia. Three other dedications from Thessaly, two by women and one by a man, attest to her popularity.⁶⁶ Farnell suggested that her religious function in these inland regions of Greece must have been different from elsewhere and was apparently connected with the fostering of growth in man and in nature.⁶⁷ Ino will therefore have been a nymph, and a divine power in her own right, before she became associated with the sea through her fusion with Leukothea. Her prominent role in Theban myth as sister of Semele, foster mother of Dionysus, and archetypal maenad reflects this original identity, which is confirmed by her equation with Mater Matuta, an Italian goddess of birth and growth worshiped exclusively by women.⁶⁸

As usual, the provenance of the stone merits attention within the

459ff (which Eust. 1544.1 called a *περίππων* [see schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.916b] but which F. Ritschl, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 37 [1864] 73ff, esp. 88ff, declined to interpret as a girdle worn around the chest), or to the ritual girdle, whatever its nature, worn by Bacchic initiates (F. Cumont, *AJA* 37 [1933] 256ff; P. Boyancé, *REA* 68 [1966] 45ff), with which it has been compared by J. Roux (above, n.53) II 284 on Eur. *Bacch.* 111–112. The most common ancient derivation connected *Λευκοθέα* with the *λευκὸν πεδίον* in the Megarid (see Pfeiffer on Callim. fr. 774); another explanation derived her name from the white foam of the sea (Philostephanus ap. Schol. D(A) *Iliad* 7.86 = *FHG* 3.34 fr. 37; Ovid *M.* 4.530).

⁶⁶ *IG* 9.2.422 = E. Schwyzer, *Dial. graec. exempla epigr. pot.* (1923) no. 574.6 (Pherai, third century B.C.), *Ἀγλαΐς Ἰππολυτεία / [Λ]ευκαθέαι*. A. S. Arbanitopoulos, *Eph. Arch.* 1910, 379f and pl. 9 (relief showing woman kneeling and praying before seated goddess) = Schwyzer no. 591.1 (Larisa, early third century B.C.), *Λευκαθέαι / Δανάα Ἀθονειτεία*. Sosipolis, son of Simmias, made a dedication to Leukothea in Thebes of Phthiotis in the fourth or third century B.C. (*Prakt. Arch. Het.* 1908, 175). Plut. *Aet. Rom.* 16 (267 D) mentions participation of both sexes in the cult of Leukothea at Chaironeia.

⁶⁷ L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (1921) 36f.

⁶⁸ Peculiar practices shared by both cults favored the equation, which was common by the time of Cicero (A. S. Pease on *De nat. deor.* 3.19. 48; Plut. *Cam.* 5.1–2 [131BC]). Roman women prayed to Mater Matuta for the well-being not of their own offspring but of other children (one's sister's children, according to Plut. *Aet. Rom.* 17 [267E], *De frat. am.* 21 [492D], *Cam.* 5.2; *alterius prolem* Ovid *F.* 6.561). Both Ovid and Plutarch saw the mythical aition for this practice in Ino's role as nurse of Semele's son (above, n. 62) on the one hand and in her own ill-fated motherhood on the other (cf. H. J. Rose, *Class. Quart.* 28 [1934] 156f). Ino is called *φιλόπαις* by Philippus of Thessalonike (*AP* 9.253.6) apparently because she saved Melikertes. An Etrurian sanctuary in Pyrgi variously assigned to either Eleithyia (Strabo 5.2.8 [226C]) or Leukothea ([Aristotle] *Oecon.* 1349b33) may in fact have belonged to Mater Matuta (G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* [2nd ed. 1912] 110).

larger context of the topography of regional cults. Melitaia was not far from the other Thessalian cult places of Leukothea, or from Ino's Theban home and the maenadic mountains of Phokis and Boeotia.⁶⁹ Her prominence as an archetypal maenad can thus be understood as the corollary of her worship by Greek women in general.

III. MAENADISM IN HELLENISTIC CITIES

Ino, the prominent maenad of myth, was clearly a model for the real maenads of history who claimed descent from her. In other words, the historical maenads made a point of imitating the maenads whom they knew from Greek myth. The ancient concept of maenadism, with its conscious fusion of myth and cult, should warn us against taking Rapp's separation of the historical maenads from their mythical archetypes too seriously. If strictly applied, Rapp's distinction would force us to admit total ignorance about the maenads of actual cult, their existence and their activities, before the time of Alexander the Great; for Alexander's mother Olympias is the earliest historical maenad of known identity.⁷⁰ But Rapp went much too far and neglected many important features of Dionysiac myth in archaic poetry and Attic drama which are clear reflections of maenadism as practiced, that is, they are in various ways aetiological. In the Lycurgus episode of the *Iliad* (6.130ff), which recalls the ritual flight and pursuit occasionally found in Dionysiac cult, "mad" (μαινόμενος) Dionysus leads an entourage of "nurses" (τιθήναι) whose implements are called *θύσθλα* or, presumably, "things brandished";⁷¹

⁶⁹ In Thessaly, dedications to Ino-Leukothea have been found in Larisa, Pherai, Thebai Phthiotides, and now Melitaia (see above, n.66). In Boeotia, Leukothea received sacrifices and was mourned in Thebes (Plut. *Apophthegm. Lac.* 228E; Ovid *F.* 6.476 Ino as *Thebana dea*; M. P. Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, [1906] 432 n.4), and had a shrine in Chaironeia (above, n.66). Her official cult name in Thessaly was *Λευκαθέα*, according to the inscriptions. In poetic texts, *Ἰνώ* was preferred, clearly because of its mythical connotations (e.g., *AP* 6.164.1). In a playful mood, Philodemus used both names in the same couplet (*AP* 6.349.1f), thus alluding to her transformation and change of name.

⁷⁰ Her snake handling is mentioned by Plut. *Alex.* 2.7-9 (= Orph. testim. 206 Kern). It is doubtful whether *Syll.*³ 1035 (Lindos, fifth [?] century B.C.). *τὸ Κόχλιος θιάσος* commemorates a maenadic thiasus. If Kochlis was a maenad (as has been suggested), she would be the only pre-Hellenistic maenad of documented historicity.

⁷¹ K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* (1975) II 1006f, 1018ff; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (1972) 196-198; G. Aurelio Privitera, *Dioniso in Omero e nella poesia greca arcaica* (1970) 53-74. What exactly the *θύσθλα* were is as obscure today as it was in antiquity (see Schol. D(A) ad loc.).

in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, the goddess rushes to greet her daughter "as a madwoman (*μαυάς*) would dart over a mountain thickly shaded with trees";⁷² the mountaintop as the maenadic locus par excellence figures prominently in Dionysiac poems by Alcman and Anacreon;⁷³ Dionysus as "Raw-Eater" (*Ὠμήστας*) in Alcaeus suggests some connection with cultic *ὠμοφαγία*;⁷⁴ and the nymphs with torches in the tragedians and in Aristophanes who dance with Dionysus on the Phaedriades high above Delphi, or near the Corycian Cave, are a mythical reminder of the joint mountain dancing of Attic and Delphic maenads.⁷⁵ In the *Bacchae* both the "black" maenadism of the Theban women and the "white" maenadism of the maenadic chorus from Asia contain elements that are derived from real cult. Finally, the gradual shift from spooky nymphs to hieratic maenads in Dionysiac scenes in sixth century Attic vase painting, and the gradual appearance of the most typical maenadic implement, the thyrsus, on Attic vases from 530 B.C. onward, would seem to attest the existence of cultic maenadism which influenced the painters.⁷⁶

Unlike modern scholars whose explanations of Greek maenadism focus on the inner drives of the human worshipers or on man's collective religious experience, the Greeks themselves had a much simpler answer, which repays attention. Although this answer was perhaps never clearly enunciated before the Hellenistic period, it is in essence as old as the earliest survivals of maenadism, as our brief review of the early literary evidence has shown. The Greeks understood maenadism as a reenactment of myth and thus as basically mimetic, or commemorative. If the madness of the Proetids was inflicted by Hera, so was that of Dionysus himself; if the maenads were wild and savage hunters, so was Dionysus; if the maenads tore fawns, they did so because Dionysus himself had been torn apart by the Titans.⁷⁷ Diodorus (4.3.2–3) claims

⁷² N. J. Richardson on *Hymn. Dem.* 386, who echoes Wilamowitz, *Glaube* (above, n.7) II 60. Heraclitus *VS* 22 B 15 (Dionysus) *ὄρεωι μαίνονται καὶ ληναΐζουσιν* aims at ritual maenadism as practiced in Ionia c. 500 B.C.

⁷³ Alcman fr. 56 Page (as interpreted by D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric Poetry* [1967] 219); Anacreon fr. 357 Page.

⁷⁴ Alcaeus fr. 129.9 LP; cf. M. Santoro, *Epitheta deorum in Asia graeca cultorum ex auctoribus graecis et latinis collecta* (1974) 143, 304f, and below, n.96.

⁷⁵ Aesch. *Eum.* 22ff; R. C. Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 1126ff; J. Roux on Eur. *Bacch.* 306ff; K. J. Dover on Aristoph. *Clouds* 603ff; Philodamus, *Dion. Paeon* 21ff Powell, and Aristonous, *Apoll. Paeon* 37 Powell (above, n.49).

⁷⁶ M. W. Edwards, *JHS* 80 (1960) 78ff; M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (1975) I 236.

⁷⁷ Cp., for instance, Harpocr. s.v. *νεβρίζων* (= Sud. ν 123) with Photius s.v. *νεβρίζεω*.

to be quoting the universal Greek view when he gives a general account of maenadic rites which reads like the Magna Carta of Hellenistic maenadism: διὸ καὶ παρὰ πολλαῖς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων διὰ τριῶν ἐτῶν βακχεῖά τε γυναικῶν ἀθροίζεσθαι καὶ ταῖς παρθένοις νόμιμον εἶναι θυρσοφορεῖν καὶ συνενθουσιάζειν εὐαζούσαις καὶ τιμώσαις τὸν θεόν. τὰς δὲ γυναικάς κατὰ συστήματα θυσιάζειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ βακχεύειν καὶ καθόλου τὴν παρουσίαν ὑμνεῖν τοῦ Διονύσου, μιμουμένας τὰς ἱστορουμένας τὸ παλαιὸν παρεδρεῖν τῷ θεῷ μαινάδας. This fundamental text serves as another reminder of our great ignorance of things maenadic; at the same time it sharpens our understanding of the apparent contradictions between the various types of maenadic evidence available to us.

The passage from Diodorus is part of a Hellenistic biography of Dionysus, which enumerates the main episodes of his life and portrays the god as a cultural hero who traversed the globe and brought civilization to mankind through his invention of wine and viticulture. In the course of his travels, Dionysus returned to Greece after a two-year expedition to India. In commemoration of his return, "biennial sacrifices" (τριετηρίδες θυσίαι) and biennial maenadic rites were established in Greece and Thrace; Dionysus himself was believed to make his epiphanies among men every other year at these occasions. This is the earliest ancient attempt to explain the trieteric periodicity of Greek maenadism as we know it from the *Bacchae* and from many later authors and inscriptions. But like all other ancient and modern explanations,⁷⁸ this one too fails to convince: the origin of the trieteric pattern remains obscure. The explanation in Diodorus, though instructive, is worthless, not so much because it perceives cult as a mimesis of divine action but because it confuses myth and history. Diodorus followed earlier mythographers like Dionysius Skytobrachion, who treated Dionysus as if he had been one of those Hellenistic rulers whose military exploits, beneficial achievements, or official visits were commemorated in local cults established in their honor.⁷⁹ The terms ἐπιφάνεια and παρουσία in Diodorus belong to the Hellenistic vocabulary of religious as well as political propaganda.⁸⁰ Stripped of its pseudo-

⁷⁸ See most recently H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (above, n.7) 218f; K. Kerényi, *Dionysos, Urbild des unzerstörbaren Lebens* (1976) 158ff.

⁷⁹ A. D. Nock, "Notes on Ruler-Cult I-IV," *Essays* (1972) I 134ff; C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* (2nd ed. 1970) 160ff, 230ff; L. Edmunds, *GRBS* 12 (1971) 363ff esp. 376ff; my own summary in *HSCP* 79 (1975) 110f nn.64-65.

⁸⁰ Nock, *Essays* I 80, 154f. The Athenians praised the joint presence of Demeter and Demetrius Poliorcetes in these words: ὡς οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν θεῶν . . . τῇ πόλει πᾶρειαν (Anonymus ap. Duris *FGrHist* 76 F 13; cf. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum*

historical varnish, Diodorus' emphasis on the god's epiphanies reveals its true significance: for the worshipers of Dionysus, his epiphanies were a seasonal event rather than a timeless experience. The best ancient interpreters of Dionysiac sentiment, Euripides and Horace, understood and expressed how it felt to experience the presence of Dionysus. "Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus vidi docentem, credite posteri,"⁸¹ sings Horace. Much of Dionysiac literature has to do with physical manifestations of the god's presence and power. This is true not only for the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* and for the prologue and action of the *Bacchae* but also for the rare remains of cultic texts. The Elian cult-hymn for Dionysus begins: "Come, ye hero Dionysus. . ." (PMG 871), and a curious lyric fragment on papyrus commemorates the annual spring return of the god in these words:⁸²

Διώνυσον ἀ[ὐ]σομεν
 ἱεραῖς ἐν ἀμέραις
 δώδεκα μῆνας ἀπόντα·
 πάρα δῶρα, πάντα δ' ἄνθη.

In the days of holy worship,
 let us sing of Dionysus,
 after his twelve months long absence:
 present are his gifts, all is abloom.

232f). On *παρεῖναι* in the context of divine epiphanies, see J. Roux on Eur. *Bacch.* 1ff; Y. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie d'Isis à Maronée*, EPRO 49 (1975) 34f.

⁸¹ *Carm.* 2.19; on Horace as *aretalogus* of Dionysus see below pp. 203ff.

⁸² *P. Vindob.* inv. 19996aII2 (first century A.D.) = Pack² 1948 = PMG 929(b) as explained by W. J. Slater, *HSCP* 80 (1976) 165 n.12 (some scholars prefer the articulation *πάρα δ' ὦρα* [cf. Theocr. 15.103], or the supplement ἀ[εῖ]σομεν). "Evidently from an annual cult-song for Dionysus" (D. L. Page, *Select Papyri* III [1942] p. 393), presumably written for the Ionian-Attic Katagorgia/Anthesteria (Nilsson, Slater). The glyconic of the first line is common in cultic poetry (E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge* [1964] I 357f, 363 n.4), as are the impure ionics of the last line (Wilamowitz, *Griech. Verskunst* 340f, 343) and the hieratic language of the opening lines: cf. the Attic skolion PMG 885.1f Πλούτου μητέρ' Ὀλυμπίαν αἰδῶ | Δήμητρα στεφανηφόροις ἐν ὥραις; Philodamus *Dion. Paean* 2f Powell ἡρινα[ῖς ἴκου | ταῖσδ'] ἱεραῖς ἐν ὥραις; Aristonous 2.1f Powell (p. 164) ἱερὰν ἱερῶν ἀνασσαν | Ἑστίαν ὑμνήσομεν; Hipp. Ref. 5.9.9 = Heitsch, *Die griech. Dichterfragmente der röm. Kaiserzeit* (1963) 44.3.1, Ἄττιν ὑμνήσω τὸν Ῥεῖης (for αἰδῶ, either immediately preceded or followed by the name of a deity in the opening lines of cult songs, see, e.g., PMG 934.1; 935.3; 936.2; Isyllus 37 Powell). The four lines reproduced from the papyrus are introduced by the words ἀναβόασον αὐτῶι (cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 639f). In the penultimate line, H. Oellacher's ed. pr. offers a choice of ἀπόντα or ἄγοντα.

Unlike Rapp, Diodorus did not separate the maenads of cult from those of myth: cultic maenadism, says Diodorus, is an imitation of mythical maenadism. The inscription from Magnesia proved Diodorus right, at least in a general way. But we want to know more exactly how much imitation there was, especially in the area of ritual. The maenads of Diodorus form Dionysiac congregations (βακχεῖαι)⁸³ which are restricted to women, both married and unmarried. The unmarried girls are only allowed to carry the thyrsus and to express their enthusiasm with the ritual cry of *euoi*. Close parallels for all of this can be found in the *Bacchae*.⁸⁴ In fact one must constantly bear in mind that Diodorus borrowed his description of maenadism not from a historian of religion but from a bookish mythographer who may have been as much influenced by Dionysiac literature as by observation of real cult practices. Real cult becomes a pressing issue when we turn to the married women among Diodorus' maenads. They seem to enjoy a greater degree of maenadic freedom than the girls: they form troops (συστήματα)⁸⁵ which are comparable to maenadic thiasy; they perform Bacchic rites (βακχεύειν), presumably not more than a reference to maenadic dances; they sing hymns about the epiphany of their god much like the chorus of the *Bacchae* and the women of Elis; and, most surprisingly, they are said to sacrifice to Dionysus.

Sacrifices to Dionysus were of course common in antiquity. But the maenads of myth, whether in the *Bacchae* or on the vases, never slaughter and burn a goat or other animal on the altar. The climax of the ritual is more savage, and perhaps a survival from the early times of neolithic or even palaeolithic hunters: they tear a live victim apart and sometimes eat its raw flesh. It is conceivable that Dionysiac myth, whether maenadic or not, preserved the memory of ancient tribal savagery: Pentheus was the victim of maenadic *sparagmos* and his scattered limbs were collected; the hunter Actaeon, wrapped in a deer-skin, was torn to death by his dogs, and an image of him was made to

⁸³ On this term, common in Dionysiac inscriptions, see Poland, *Vereinswesen* (above, n.9) 644 s.v.

⁸⁴ Eur. *Bacch.* 694 (with J. Roux's note) and *Phoen.* 655f (Theban maenads) also distinguish between γυναῖκες and παρθένοι, doubtless in imitation of social and religious custom (see Poland, *Vereinswesen* 97 and 404; Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* [above, n.7] 172f). In the hierarchy of ritual, the θυροσφορεῖν of the girls was clearly preliminary to the βακχεύειν of the women. Cf. Plato *Phd.* 69c εἰσὶν γὰρ δὴ, ὡς φασιν οἱ περὶ τὰς τελετάς, ναρθηκοφόροι μὲν πολλοί, βάκχοι δὲ τε παῖροι, and W. Burkert, *Griech. Religion* (above, n.40) 436 on Diod. 4.3.3: "Alte Formen der Pubertätsweihe dürften gerade in den sexuellen Ritualen weiterwirken; nicht die Jungfrauen, nur Frauen konnten *Bakchai* sein."

⁸⁵ Poland, *Vereinswesen* 654 s.v.

soothe their grief;⁸⁶ Dionysus Zagreus was dismembered and eaten by the Titans and then brought to life again through recomposition of his body.⁸⁷ What seems to underlie these various myths is a tripartite ritual of killing a victim, eating his flesh, and putting together his remains. But Greek ritual tends to mitigate where myth is cruel. The Greeks were no savages, and it is a priori unlikely that the Greek maenads of history should have lived up to the ritual cruelty of their mythical models. Nothing in the available evidence suggests that historical maenads indulged in *sparagmos* or *omophagia*. On the contrary, the sacrifice performed by the maenads in Diodorus appears to be the civilized substitute for the savage sacrifice of maenadic myth: "blood of the goat slain," but not "joy of the raw flesh devoured" (*Bacch.* 138). Compare the elaborate preparation for sacrifice in the strange maenadic poem which found its way into the Theocritean corpus (26.1-9): Ino, Autonoe, and Agaue build several improvised altars on which they place sacred things — but do not sacrifice — before they hunt down Pentheus.

Two maenadic inscriptions from Miletus supplement and correct the unsatisfactory account of Hellenistic maenadism in Diodorus. One of them is an epigram in elegiac couplets of the third or second century B.C. which marked the tombstone of a local maenad and priestess of Dionysus (see plate).⁸⁸

“τὴν ὁσίην χαίρειμ” πολυήτιδες εἶπατε Βάκχαι
 “ῥεῖην.” χρηστῇ τοῦτο γυναικὶ θέμις.
 ὑμᾶς κείς ὄρος ἦγε καὶ ὄργια πάντα καὶ ἱρὰ
 ἤνεικεμ πάσης ἐρχομένη πρὸ πόλεως.
 τοῦνομα δ’ εἴ τις ξείνος ἀνείρεται, Ἀλκμειωνὶς
 ἢ Ῥοδίου, καλῶμ μοῖραν ἐπισταμένη.

Bakchai of the City, say "Farewell you holy priestess." This is what a good woman deserves. She led you to the mountain and carried all the sacred objects and implements, marching in procession before the whole city. Should some stranger ask for her name: Alkmeonis, daughter of Rhodios, who knew her share of the blessings.

⁸⁶ W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* 127ff. Add the new *PMich.* inv. 1447 (edited by T. Renner in this volume), an alphabetical list of *metamorphoseis*, which summarizes the Actaeon story as told in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*.

⁸⁷ A. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos* (PTA 14, 1972) 67-73; M. Detienne, *Dionysos mis à mort* (1977) 170-190.

⁸⁸ Above, n.2 no. 2. Cf. *ZPE* 4 (1969) 223-241; R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 9 (1972)

Alkmeonis officiated at two different ceremonies: she led the local maenads to the mountain and took the lead in a public procession in which she carried the sacred cult-objects (*ὄργια* or *ιερά*). Her two functions presumably mark two different events in the Dionysiac calendar. The *ὄρειβασία*, or mountain dancing of the maenads, was a biennial event which will have taken place on one of the hills or mountains surrounding Miletus. The words "to the mountain" (*εἰς ὄρος*) must have been used in real cult as a maenadic signal which opened the *ὄρειβασία*. This same signal occurs several times in the *Bacchae* and also in a pseudomaenadic inscription of imperial date from Physkos.⁸⁹ Ritual maenadism in Miletus was restricted to women who formed a public thiasus of which Alkmeonis was in charge. Her role is thus identical with that of the three mythical maenads in the *Bacchae* and of the three imported maenads in Magnesia. Whether she was the only chief maenad or whether she had two other colleagues we do not know. The Dionysiac procession led by Alkmeonis was very likely an annual event which commemorated the return of Dionysus each spring.

Like the maenads of Magnesia, Alkmeonis was involved in religious rites which were both maenadic and nonmaenadic. She was an official priestess in the public cult of Dionysus throughout the year, and organized a troop of maenads every other year. An earlier Milesian inscription of 276/75 B.C. confirms these conclusions and provides further valuable detail.⁹⁰ The text is a contract for the sale of the priesthood of Dionysos Bakchios designed to guarantee the privileges of the purchaser, who was a woman. Her duties were similar to those of Alkmeonis. She presided over a public thiasus of women which is carefully distinguished from other private thiasi. The detailed regulations of the contract suggest that private thiasi of maenads must have been numerous in and around Miletus, and that they existed long before the public thiasus was established. Every woman could form her own thiasus and enroll other women in it, provided she paid the official priestess a prescribed fee every other year (*κατ' ἐκάστην τριετηρίδα*). The biennial periodicity of admission shows that the thiasi were maenadic. Women who wished to be admitted into such a thiasus had to undergo certain initiation rites which are not described; the technical

77ff. The stone, which stands *sub Iove* in the Museum Garden, west of Tschinili-Kiosk, in Istanbul, has suffered substantial damage from the weather; eventually the writing will become completely illegible. I owe the exact location, and the photo, to Professor John G. Pedley.

⁸⁹ Below p. 155.

⁹⁰ Above, n.2 no. 3; *ZPE* 4 (1969) 235ff.

terms *τελεῖν* and *τέλεστρον* indicate that some sort of initiation was required.

Another reference to maenadism occurs in the first extant entry of the contract: "Whenever the priestess performs the rites of sacrifice (τὰ ἱερά) on behalf of the whole city, nobody must *ὠμοφάγιον ἐμβαλεῖν* before the priestess has done so on behalf of the city." This sentence is of capital importance for our knowledge of Greek maenadism in the Hellenistic period. But its meaning is obscured by the puzzling phrase *ὠμοφάγιον ἐμβαλεῖν* which has eluded explanation. The word *ὠμοφάγιον*, which is not attested elsewhere, recalls the *ὠμοφαγία* (Plutarch's term), or Dionysiac diet of raw flesh, first mentioned in the parodos of the *Bacchae* (138f): *ἀγρεύων αἷμα τραγοκτόνον, ὠμοφάγον χάριν*, sings the chorus in lines which describe Dionysus as a wild hunter. Scholars tend to forget, or deny, that it is Dionysus, and not the maenads, who takes pleasure in this bloody diet. The Dionysus who hunts, kills, and devours his victims raw is the same Dionysus whom Alcaeus knew as Raw-Eater and who seems to underlie a divine figure of Greek myth known as Zagreus, "the great hunter."⁹¹ Despite its obscurity, the Milesian inscription hardly allows the interpretation that the *ὠμοφάγιον* was eaten by the priestess or other participants in the public sacrifice. In fact the verb *ἐμβάλλειν* itself proves that the *ὠμοφάγιον* was a deposit of some sort and either placed before someone or thrown into something. Th. Wiegand, the first editor, suggested that sacrificial animals were thrown into a pit, or *βόθρος*. R. Eisler and E. R. Dodds compared an exotic and utterly un-Greek case of ritual omophagy in modern North Africa and concluded that the *ὠμοφάγιον* was thrown from a raised platform into the crowd of worshipers and torn.⁹² I find neither suggestion convincing. It seems to me that one has to start from the assumption, already made by Wiegand and others, that the recipient of

⁹¹ Raw-Eater: above, n.74. Zagreus: Dodds and J. Roux on *Bacch.* 1192; below, n.96.

⁹² Eisler, *ARW* 27 (1929) 173ff; Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (1951) 276. In other descriptions of actual cult practices, *ἐμβάλλειν* refers to the depositing of offerings in lakes (Paus. 3.23.8, for Ino; Plut. *Is.* 364F = Socrates Argivus *FGrHist* 308 F 2, for Cerberus); to money deposited in offertory boxes (A. J. Festugière, "Omophagion Emballein," *Class. et Mediaev.* 17 [1956] 31ff = *Études de religion grecque et hellénistique* [1972] 110ff); to things placed in sacrificial baskets (Festugière wants to recognize this rare usage in the Milesian inscription); and, perhaps, to sacrifices deposited in *βόθροι* (both Clement of Alexandria and the scholia on Lucian explain the *μεγαριζειν* at the Thesmophoria as *ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὰ μέγαρα*, cf. *ZPE* 4 [1969] 34). These usages do not seem to explain the practice at Miletus.

the ὠμοφάγιον was Dionysus or, more specifically, Dionysus as Raw-Eater, an epithet under which the god was worshiped in the eastern Mediterranean and which is expressly attested for Lesbos, Tenedos and Chios. He, not the maenads, received the animal or its raw meat as food. ὠμοφάγος is applied elsewhere in Greek to carnivorous animals, and to monsters, savages, and wild tribes; the verb ἐμβάλλειν followed by the type of food in the accusative is occasionally used to describe the feeding of animals.⁹³ The alleged omophagy at Miletus was nothing but a peculiar type of Dionysiac sacrifice, whose circumstances and ritual details escape us. The historicity of the sacrificing maenads in Diodorus is thus confirmed.⁹⁴ The Milesian maenads will have left the scene of their sacrifice, at the worst, with bloodstained hands⁹⁵ and clothes but hardly with raw meat in their teeth and blood dripping from their mouths.⁹⁶ Even the ritual drinking of blood was unknown in official Greek cult and restricted to arcane oath-taking ceremonies. The Attic vase painters had no scruples about showing mythical maenads engaged in bloody *sparagmos* but did not paint maenads who ate the flesh of their victims. Neither did the Milesian maenads eat a victim raw; they merely sacrificed raw meat to Dionysus.⁹⁷ Contrary to the prevailing view,⁹⁸ therefore, the inscription from Miletus does not suggest that

⁹³ Of horses: Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.27, *Cyrop.* 8.1.38, Plut. *Eum.* 9 (678A); of beasts of burden: Theophr. *Char.* 4.8; of sacred fish: Ael. *Nat. anim.* 12.2.

⁹⁴ Above, p. 145.

⁹⁵ *Bacch.* 767f, 1135f.

⁹⁶ Euripides mentions a diet of raw flesh (ὠμοφάγοι δαίτες) as a Cretan initiation rite in connection with "night-wandering Zagreus" (fr. 472 N.² = fr. 79 Austin, in a passage full of textual difficulties). Zagreus, the "great hunter" (above, nn.74, 91), probably shared his prey with his Cretan initiates after the hunt (cf. *Hipp.* 109f; *Bacch.* 1184, 1242). Euripides may have equated Zagreus and Dionysus, another hunter (*Bacch.* 1192); this would explain the obscure reference to omophagy.

⁹⁷ In spite of *Bacch.* 736, χειρὸς ἀσιδήρου μέτα, maenads tearing an animal are often shown with swords or knives in late classical, Hellenistic, and Roman art (H. Philippart, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 9 [1930] 41ff, e.g., nos. 99-112, 132, 137-138, 160-161, 163, 168). A recent addition is the maenad who holds a sword in her right hand and a bisected deer in her left hand on the Dionysiac silver pitcher from Borovo, Bulgaria (first half of fourth century B.C.); A. Fol and I. Marazov, *Thrace and the Thracians* (1977) 116. The substitution of tools for bare hands in Dionysiac art supports the conclusion that the mythical *sparagmos* had been replaced by some form of regular sacrifice in actual cult. Agaue herself is referred to as ἱερέα φόνου in *Bacch.* 1114. In later versions of the Zagreus myth, the cultic *machaira* has similarly replaced the *sparagmos* (Henrichs, *Phoinikika* [above, n.87] 67).

⁹⁸ For example, Wilamowitz, *Glaube* (above, n.7) II 372 n.2; Nilsson, *Gesch.* (above, n.7) I 156, 572f (who concedes, without comment, "eine gemilderte

ritual omophagy was practiced by historical maenads. This conclusion, based on epigraphical evidence, accords well with what we can glean from other texts: the occasional references to maenadic omophagy in Greek authors are usually mythical,⁹⁹ or, where actual cult is at issue, discredited by their own vagueness or antipagan zeal.¹⁰⁰

IV. THE MAENADS OF ATHENS AND DELPHI

Let us briefly look back on what we have found. The texts which have been discussed so far constitute the bulk of the written evidence for Greek maenadism. It has become obvious that the ritual practice of maenadism was very much subject to regional variation and historical change, and that we know more about Greek maenads in some areas of Greece and in some periods than in others. The existence of ritual maenadism before c. 350 B.C. is not explicitly attested but can be inferred beyond doubt from ritual elements in maenadic myth. But it would be hazardous to venture much beyond this basic inference and to speculate about what exactly the early maenads did, or about their state of mind when they did it. We are much better informed for the Hellenistic period when, according to Diodorus, maenadic rites could be found in many Greek cities and when, according to the inscriptions, maenadic thiasy convened in the Ionian poleis of Miletus, Magnesia, and presumably also Priene. Another maenadic institution of perhaps

Form der alten Omophagie"); Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (above, n.7) 264f; Dodds, *Bacchae*² xvif; most recently F. Cassola, *Inni Omerici* (1975) 11: "L'autenticità di queste notizie [Eur. *Bacch.* 138f (above, p. 150); Plut. *Def. orac.* 417C and Firmicus Maternus *De err.* 6.5 (below, n.100)] è confermata da un'iscrizione milesia del terzo secolo a.C."

⁹⁹ For the principal evidence, all of imperial date, see Farnell, *Cults* V 302f, and Harrison, *Prolegomena* (above, n.7) 482ff. References to flesh-eating maenads in earlier authors are very scarce, and merely ornamental (e.g., Ap. Rhod. 1.636, *θυιάσων ὠμοβόροις ἵκελαι*). In other words, later authors who knew nothing about actual maenadism tended to exaggerate the cruelty of maenadic myth.

¹⁰⁰ Firmicus Maternus (*De err.* 6), in his pseudohistorical interpretation of the Zagreus myth, reconstructs a trieteric Dionysiac ritual on the island of Crete in the distant past, in the course of which the Cretans "vivum laniant *dentibus taurum*" (6.5). This improbable and impracticable detail reveals the author's complete ignorance of omophagy as practiced. The interlocutor at Plut. *Def. orac.* 14 (417C) lists unpleasant *ἐορταὶ καὶ θυσίαι* which take place on certain *dies nefasti* and include *ὠμοφαγία καὶ διασπασμοί* [practiced by maenads, or by the Raw-Eater?] *νηστεῖαι τε καὶ κοπετοί* [Demeter, and Adonis?], *πολλαχοῦ δὲ πάλιν αἰσχρολογίαὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς* [see J. S. Rusten, *HSCP* 81 (1977) 160ff], and concludes with Pindar *Dith.* 2.13f, a mythical description of Dionysiac ecstasy. I cannot accept this passage as an authentic record of actual cult.

even greater antiquity was the joint maenadism of the Attic and Delphic women on Mt. Parnassus. Its existence must be assumed for the mid-fifth century B.C. at the very latest and continued into the second century A.D. when Pausanias saw the Thyiads.¹⁰¹ From what Plutarch and Pausanias tell us about their ritual, we gather that it was a strange mixture of various old and new components: the old maenadic mountain dancing coexisted side by side with the ritual awakening of Dionysus Liknites, which must have been a Hellenistic addition.¹⁰² But the common concept behind these various rites turns out to be surprisingly coherent and perhaps even quite old when we remember that the earliest mythical maenads were called "nurses of Dionysus," and that the Liknites was a baby in a winnowing fan which served as a cradle. It seems very unlikely that maenadism was ubiquitous in Greek lands, or that in places where it existed admission was invariably open to every woman who wanted to be a maenad: at least in Athens, Delphi, and, perhaps, Thebes maenadism was restricted to selected groups of women; and some of the sacred colleges of women in the worship of Dionysus, like the Sixteen in Elis or the clan of the Oleiai in Orchomenos, were clearly maenadic in origin.¹⁰³ My conclusion is simple but significant: there were many local variations of maenadism and their variety is comparable to the many locally different wine festivals in honor of Dionysus.

Even for a place as conspicuous as fifth century Athens we have to admit ignorance: there is no unambiguous evidence for the practice of maenadism within the borders of Attica in the classical period. The long scholarly debate which surrounds the so-called Lenaia vases has been inconclusive mainly because we do not know whether or not maenads participated in Dionysiac festivals in Athens, and if they did, which of these festivals were maenadic and which were not. The Lenaia vases are the only type of Attic pottery on which maenads are engaged in a real ritual. They show women who are dressed like maenads in ritual celebration before an idol of Dionysus which consists of the god's mask suspended from a wooden pole or a tree. On vases dating from the second half of the century, the maenads surrounding the mask idol ladle wine from larger containers (*stamnoi*) into smaller drinking vessels (*skyphoi*), but are not shown drinking from them themselves.¹⁰⁴ August

¹⁰¹ Above, end of section I.

¹⁰² Nilsson, *Dionysiac Mysteries* (above, n.7) 38-45.

¹⁰³ Rapp (above, n.1) 5-8; Burkert, *Homo Necans* 195ff.

¹⁰⁴ A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (2nd ed. 1968) 30-35 (with pls); Burkert, *Homo Necans* 260ff.

Frickenhaus in a classical study¹⁰⁵ assigned these vases to the *Λήναια*, a Dionysiac festival in January named after the *λήναι*, female worshippers of Dionysus who originally may or may not have been maenads. Apart from dramatic contests, however, nothing is known about the rites of this festival, and Frickenhaus' assignation conveniently filled the gap. But why should the ladling of wine have been so prominent during a mid-winter ritual? The new wine of the previous harvest was formally broached and consecrated about a month later, in March, on the first two days of another festival of Dionysus, the Anthesteria. Therefore it seems a much more attractive suggestion to assign these vases to the Anthesteria, as Nilsson and other scholars have done. But the trouble with this approach to the problem is that maenads are conspicuously absent from the abundant written documentation which we have for the Anthesteria. A college of fourteen women who were called "honorable ones" (*γεραραί*) played a leading role in some of the ceremonies. Although they are not said to have distributed the new wine, they certainly oversaw the collection of leftovers after the drinking match was over. Only the Lenaia vases suggest that the *γεραραί* may have dressed or danced like maenads. If they were maenadic, their maenadism was limited to a single event and even a single day in the Athenian calendar, but the possibility would remain that they could have been connected or even identical with the troop of Attic maenads who were sent to Delphi in alternate years. But to look for authentic portrayal of ritual in vase painters is methodologically as questionable as to read Euripides as if he were a historian of religion. In Greek art and poetry, myth tends to prevail over ritual. I therefore incline to think that the so-called Lenaia vases were in fact inspired by the wine ritual of the Anthesteria, but that in the absence of other evidence the vases cannot be accepted as proof that the *γεραραί* were maenads or acted like maenads. There will have been nothing more desirable for a fifth century vase painter with a preference for Dionysiac themes than to add a colorful though unauthentic touch of maenadism to a Dionysiac wine festival in which a college of women monopolized part of the actual ritual. Greek religion is largely a conglomerate of local cults, and the history of Greek religion is basically a history of the changes of these local cults under the impact of political events, of social reorganization, and of new religious concepts. There is nothing improbable in the view that Attic women who were sent to Delphi to act as maenads were neither expected nor allowed to exhibit their maenadic skills at any of

¹⁰⁵ *Lenäenvasen* (72nd Winckelmannsprogramm, 1912).

the Dionysiac festivals in Athens, even though the name of the Lenaia may have preserved the distant memory of a time when maenads roamed the hills of Attica.

V. MAENADS WITHOUT MAENADISM

The gradual demise of maenadism began in the Hellenistic period and was apparently complete by the third century A.D. Poetic descriptions of maenads and their rites continued to be written by skillful poets like Nemesianus and Nonnos, but no author later than Pausanias shows any knowledge of real maenads.¹⁰⁶ The silence of the stones and the absence of full-fledged maenads from scenes of Dionysiac initiations in Italian art of the late Republic and early Empire confirm this impression. Once the ritual mountain setting and the organization of maenads into local troops under the leadership of a chief maenad were abandoned, maenadism degenerated into Dionysiac carnival and merrymaking. There existed an early trend to separate the maenad from her inherited ritual function and to turn her into a human symbol of the Bacchic mood, comparable to the satyr, Silenus, and Pan, to the vine and ivy, and to the grape cluster or the mask which were similarly used as interchangeable decorations in Dionysiac art and in Bacchic cult.

Nothing illustrates the sorry state of maenadism in the second century A.D. better than two inscriptions set up by private Dionysiac clubs which had both men and women as members. The first inscription comes from Physkos in Lokris and records the cult law of a thiasus whose male members are called "herdsmen" (*βουκόλοι*)¹⁰⁷ and the female members "maenads."¹⁰⁸ The law is almost exclusively concerned with the financial contributions which the club members are required to make. Apart from the entrance fee, the law lists various fines for rowdiness, for failure to attend meetings, and for other omissions, one of which is the following (lines 16-17): "Someone who does not join the others on the mountain (*εἰς ὄρος*) shall pay five drachmas to the

¹⁰⁶ Epiphanius *De fide* 12.1 Holl (= T. Hopfner, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae* [1924] 608), in a remarkable account of pagan cult practices in Roman Egypt, condemns the orgiastic rites of Memphite and Heliopolitan *χορίτιδες τε καὶ τριετηρί<τι>δες*, women who may have been maenads, or else adherents of indigenous Egyptian cults seen through Greek spectacles (cf. Herod. 2.48f).

¹⁰⁷ Because they worshiped the bull-god (Dionysos Tauros).

¹⁰⁸ Above, n.2 no. 5.

association." The *ὄρειβασία* of ritual maenadism had become a routine mountain picnic for men *and* women, and participation was apparently so irregular that it had to be made compulsory under pain of penalty.¹⁰⁹ The women of Physkos were maenads in name only. But at about the same time some thirty miles east of Physkos the Thyiads of Delphi had not yet abandoned their old maenadic ritual. The regional pattern of Greek cult tolerated the coexistence of old and new forms of Dionysiac worship in close proximity.

In a different corner of the Roman empire, in a place near Tusculum in Latium, there existed a large Dionysiac congregation around the middle of the second century. An inscription lists the names of its many members and their various ranks in the hierarchy.¹¹⁰ Among the twenty-six different titles are not only "herdsmen" (*βουκόλοι*), "archherdsmen" (*ἀρχιβουκόλοι*), and "holy herdsmen" (*βουκόλοι ἱεροί*), but also female and male "archbacchanals" (*ἀρχιβασσάραι* and *ἀρχιβάσσαροι*) and "bakchai of the girdle" (*βάκχαι ἀπὸ καταζώσεως*). As in Physkos, the old names for the maenads had become mere titles in an inflated hierarchic bureaucracy, and the separation of the sexes which was *de rigueur* in ritual maenadism had been given up, presumably in the interest of social and sexual emancipation.¹¹¹

Cult laws from the imperial period are, more often than not, disappointingly jejune and reticent, particularly about cult and other non-administrative aspects of religion. If we want to recapture something of the disguise, romanticism, and escapist mood which pervaded Dionysiac clubs of that time and which is reflected in the Dionysiac art of the late Republic and of the Empire, we must turn to more picturesque and, perhaps, less factual accounts of Bacchic festivals. The most memorable of them is Tacitus' description of the Dionysiac "garden party" at which Valeria Messalina, the wife of the emperor Claudius, and her lover C. Silius entertained distinguished guests, presumably

¹⁰⁹ Although it is nowhere stated expressly that the two groups of "maenads" and "herdsmen" performed their ritual together, it is clear from the context that the indeterminate *ἐὰν δέ τις* in line 11 and the masculine *τὸν δὲ κατὰ σύνθεσιν μὴ συνελθόντα* in lines 13–14 refer to both sexes and that the phrase [*ὁ δὲ*] *κεῖς ὄρος μὴ συνελθόν* includes, *a fortiori*, women too. The *oreibasia* in Roman Physkos was a joint affair.

¹¹⁰ Above, n.2 no. 4.

¹¹¹ The feminist movement in the Classics has so far neglected to study ritual maenadism from its particular viewpoint. Sarah P. Pomeroy's recent survey *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (1975) is generally disappointing on women's cults and all but silent on the maenads, who do not appear in the index (but see pp. 113 and 143).

on the grounds of the imperial palace (*per domum*). The occasion was a mock vintage festival in the fall of 48 A.D. (*Annals* 11.31.2–3):

at Messalina non alias solutior luxu, adulto autumnno simulacrum vindemiae per domum celebrabat. urgeri prela, fluere lacus; et feminae pellibus accinctae adsultabant ut sacrificantes vel insanientes Bacchae; ipsa crine fluxo thyrsus quatiens iuxtaque Silius hedera vinctus gerere cothurnos iacere caput, strepente circum procaci choro. ferunt Vettium Valentem, lascivia in praealtam arborem conisum, interrogantibus quid adspiceret, respondisse tempestatem ab Ostia atrocem, sive coeperat ea species, seu forte lapsa vox in praesagium vertit.¹¹²

Tacitus' account is an inseparable blend of fact and fiction. The concentrated verbal virtuosity of the passage is very Tacitean, but the maenadic highlights are traditional and largely inspired by poetic descriptions of maenadism in Catullus, Virgil, Ovid, and perhaps Republican tragedy.¹¹³ Sacrificing maenads, however, do not belong to the literary stereotype of the maenad but to actual cult.¹¹⁴ Unparalleled but very likely authentic is the combination of maenadism and vintage festival. Neither mythical maenads nor their cultic counterparts drink wine or harvest grapes. On Attic vases, satyrs gather in the vintage

¹¹² Cf. R. Syme, *Tacitus* (1958) I 348, II 539. Standard commentaries fail to appreciate the historical value of this passage (E. Koestermann [1967] ad loc. copies the antiquarian notes of H. Furneaux [1891] and quotes the memorable prose of R. Syme without much concern for the larger issues raised by Tacitus' Dionysiac *tableau vivant*). But French scholars saw its importance for the religious and cultural history of the period: P. Grimal, *Les jardins Romains*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 155 (1943) 351f; A. Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, same series, fasc. 175 (1953) 184; J. Colin, *Les Études Classiques* 24 (1956) 25–39 (whose conclusions are very speculative); R. Turcan, *Les sarcophages Romains à représentations dionysiaques* (1966) 561f.

¹¹³ *Feminae pellibus accinctae*: Eur. *Bacch.* 24, 111, 136f; Virgil *Aen.* 7.396 incinctae pellibus. *insanientes Bacchae* (μαυνέδες): Varro ap. Augustin. *De civ. dei* 6.9 Bacchanalia summa celebrantur insania; Cat. 64.254; Ovid *Metam.* 3.536. *crine fluxo*: Eur. *Bacch.* 150 (with J. Roux's note), 241; Aristoph. *Lys.* 1312; Dioscorides *AP* 7.485.3f; Livy 39.13.12 crinibus sparsis; Ovid *Fasti* 4.457 passis . . . comis, *Rem. am.* 594 fusis . . . comis. *thyrsus quatiens*: Eur. *Bacch.* 80, 240; Cat. 64.256 quatiebant . . . thyrsos. *hedera vinctus*: Eur. *Bacch.* 81; Vell. Pat. 2.82.4 (Mark Antony as Dionysus) redimitus hederis . . . et thyrsus tenens cothurnisque succinctus (cf. Tacitus' *gerere cothurnos*). *iacere caput*: Eur. *Bacch.* 864f, 930; Cat. 63.23 ubi capita Maenades vi iaciunt ederigerae, 64.255 capita inflectentes; Ovid *Metam.* 3.726 collaque iactavit movitque per aera crinem. *strepente . . . choro*: Livy 39.8.8 tympanorumque et cymbalorum strepitu.

¹¹⁴ Above, section III.

although maenads are occasionally present; on Roman sarcophagi, satyrs, and Erotes pose as vintagers.¹¹⁵ Real grape gathering in ancient Greece and Italy was presumably accompanied by Dionysiac songs and antics, and perhaps even by an occasional masquerade;¹¹⁶ but for all that we know the vintagers did not don the get-up of maenads or satyrs.¹¹⁷ Messalina's Bacchic festival was an artificial recreation of a rural *vindemia* set against the pseudoreligious background of mythical maenadism. Dionysiac myth was playfully reenacted, which would

¹¹⁵ Vintaging on Attic black-figure vases: for example, Boston MFA 63.952 and 01.8052 (*CVA* USA fasc. 14 [1973] pl. 12.3 and 24); Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner Museum no. 265 (Beazley, *ABV* 151 no. 22; P. E. Andrias and M. Hirmer, *Tausend Jahre griech. Vasenkunst* [1960] pl. 55). On the Greco-Roman iconography of the *vindemia*, see F. Matz, *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm* 1949, 19–26; F. Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage I* (1968) nos. 8–11A, 13, 16–25, III (1969) no. 178; M. J. Vermaseren, *Liber in Deum*, *EPRO* 53 (1976) 22–27.

¹¹⁶ The view that the rustic verse, fun, masks, and Bacchic tunes of Virgil *Georg.* 2.385–396 belong to the Vinalia has been challenged by K. Meuli, "Altrömischer Maskenbrauch," *Gesammelte Schriften* (1975) I 251–282 esp. 254 and 259f. J. H. Voss, on *Georg.* 2.385 (*Ländliche Gedichte* III [1800] 404f), painted the *calcatores* of Virgil's time in captivating but untrue colors borrowed from Augustan poets: "Nach der Weinlese im October oder November folgte ein Dankfest, an welchem die Kelterer mit Most geschminkt, andere mit Mennig gerötet, oder in Korklarven, jubelten, auf geölten Stierfellen kopfüber purzelten und sich in Wettspielen übten." (In addition to *Georg.* 2.380ff, compare 2.530f [*certamina*]; Tib. 2.5.85, *oblitus et musto feriet pede rusticus uvae*, not a description of a farmer's face ceremonially painted with wine lees or must [as in Horace *AP* 277] but of his stained body as he works in the wine-press [cf. *Georg.* 2.7f]; and Tib. 2.1.55f, *agricola et minio subfusus, Bacche, rubenti / primus inexperta duxit ab arte choro*, a couplet which does not refer to contemporary practice but to the beginnings of agriculture and to the origins of drama.) Th. Keppel, *Die Weinlese der alten Römer*, Programm Königl. Studienanstalt Schweinfurth 1874, though equally uncritical, is still instructive (esp. pp. 3–10, "Die Weinlese ein Fest").

¹¹⁷ Longus 2.1–2, a description of vintaging customs on Lesbos in which Chloe is likened to (but does not dress as) a maenad, and the vintagers to satyrs. Similar pagan customs continued in the eastern parts of the Roman empire well into late antiquity according to *can.* 62 of the Constantinopolitan Council of 691/92 (Trullanum II): ἔτι μὴν καὶ τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν παρ' Ἑλληνῶν ψευδῶς ὀνομασθέντων θεῶν ἢ ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν γενομένους ὀρχήσεις καὶ τελετὰς κατὰ τι ἔθος παλαιὸν καὶ ἀλλότριον τοῦ τῶν Χριστιανῶν βίου ἀποπεμπόμεθα, ὀρίζοντες μηδένα ἄνδρα γυναικεῖαν στολὴν ἐνδιδύσκεισθαι ἢ γυναῖκα τοῖς ἀνδράσι ἀρμόδιον, ἀλλὰ μῆτε προσωπεῖα κωμικὰ ἢ σατυρικὰ ἢ τραγικὰ ὑποδύεσθαι μῆτε τὸ τοῦ βδελυκτοῦ Διονύσου ὄνομα τὴν σταφυλὴν ἀποθλίβοντας ἐν ταῖς ληνοῖς ἐπιβοᾶν μηδὲ τὸν οἶνον ἐν τοῖς πίθοις ἐπιχέοντας, ἀγνοίας τρόπῳ ἢ ματαιότητι τὰ τῆς μανιώδους πλάνης ἐνεργούντας (J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* XI [1765] col. 972).

explain why Vettius Valens climbed a tree, as if he were another Pentheus.¹¹⁸

Wine and maenads are an explosive match. In earlier cult, they were kept separate, but their combination in Dionysiac festivities was favored by numerous *bons vivants* of the Hellenistic and Roman aristocracy as a fitting expression of their Dionysiac lifestyle. Valeria Messalina will have inherited her flair for Bacchic ostentation from her great-grandfather Mark Antony. Antonius emulated Dionysus, but rumor had it that Dionysus deserted him when the triumvir's cause seemed lost;¹¹⁹ Messalina, too, played the maenad, only to come to a bad end. Bacchic impersonation was potentially disruptive and dangerous, especially if it was not controlled by the mitigating mechanism of traditional cult. Agaue and Alkmeonis personify the two opposites of Greek maenadism, the destructive violence of maenadic myth and its cultic realization in innocent ritual. The madness and the happiness demarcate the limits of Dionysus' power, and the choice of his worshippers.

Throughout the Hellenistic period, Greek women in many cities worshiped Dionysus at fixed intervals with orgiastic rites from which men were excluded. The two inscriptions from Miletus which we have studied are the best illustration of this practice. The exclusive nature of ritual maenadism is born out by a Hellenistic inscription from Methymna on Lesbos, where local women worshiped Dionysus in a *pannychis* to which no man had access, not even the *gynaikonomos* officially in charge of their activities.¹²⁰ But infinitely more numerous, and more complex, than women's *orgia* was the wide range of Dionysiac festivals, both annual and biennial, which called for joint participation by men and women. Maenads presided over mixed thiasoi of men and women as early as the fourth century B.C.¹²¹ In the Hellenistic and Roman period, both sexes met at trieteric public festivals in honor of Dionysus in many

¹¹⁸ Tacitus' phrase *in praealtam arborem conisum* seems to echo Eur. *Bacch.* 1061, ἀμβάς ἐς ἐλάττην ὑψανχένα. Trees are natural vantage points: a curious visitor to Epidauros trying to spy on Asclepius climbed a tree and promptly fell down (*Iamata* p. 14.90ff Herzog, ἐπὶ δένδρεόν τι ἀμβάς ὑπερέκυντε εἰς τὸ ἄβατον . . .). But would-be prophets, too, climbed trees from which they addressed the crowd below (Antisthenes the Peripatetic ap. Phlegon Trall. *Mirab.* 3 = *FGrHist* 257 F 36 III 11 [= 508 F 2]; *Hist. Aug. Vita Marci* 13).

¹¹⁹ Plut. *Ant.* 75.4-6; above, n.46.

¹²⁰ *IG* 12.2.499 = Ziehen, *LGS* (above, n.42) II no. 121 = Sokolowski, *LSCG* (above, n.2) no. 127 (fourth century B.C.).

¹²¹ At Magnesia ad M.; above, section I.

Greek cities.¹²² Because of their greater appeal to a society in which the separation of the sexes was more and more abandoned, the less exclusive rites, both public and private, eventually carried the day and outlived ritual maenadism, which was extinct by the third century A.D.¹²³

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¹²² Public *trieterides* are attested for Thebes, Scepsis, Pergamum, Priene, and Miletus (all Hellenistic), private ones for Roman Pergamum. Trieteric *Bakcheia* with male participation were held in the city of Rhodes in the second century B.C. (*IG* 12.1.155; Poland, *Vereinswesen* 249 and 260). *AP* 7.473 (Aristidicus of Rhodes; perhaps third century B.C.) commemorates two women who committed suicide when they learned of the death of a male participant in orgiastic rites, presumably Dionysiac (Gow and Page, *The Greek Anthology, Hellenistic Epigrams* II 107f). In Hellenistic Amphipolis, or some other town on the Strymon, local maenads danced while a male piper played the flute (*AP* 7.485.5f).

¹²³ A shorter version of this article was presented as a slide lecture to the Greek Department at Bryn Mawr College on November 12, 1976. I am grateful to several friends and colleagues both at Bryn Mawr and Harvard whose questions and suggestions helped me to clarify my thoughts on this subject.